OCTOBER 5
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# NEW MASSES

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## VICTORY HAS A PRICE

by Earl Browder

## ZERO HOUR IN GREECE

BY DEMETRIOS CHRISTOPHORIDES

## MANPOWER SHORTAGE?

BY BRUCE MINTON

## STREETS OF MEXICO CITY

BY THEODORE BALK. WITH TWO PAGES OF LITHOGRAPHS BY FAMOUS MEXICAN ARTISTS

*A letter from Constantine Simonov to H. W. L. Dana*

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# BETWEEN OURSELVES

"WHY doesn't NEW MASSES build its circulation as such-and-such magazines do?" We rather frequently hear that query from readers. And usually they tell us about one of the basic methods used by other publications to get subscribers. Why don't *we* do that? We'd like to answer that question, even if it involves a rather long explanation.

First of all, there are really six basic methods, though NM is practically the sole user of one of them. They are:

DIRECT MAIL. Nearly every commercial magazine builds its subscriptions through mail appeals addressed to lists which they purchase. A certain weekly sent out 41,000,000 letters last year and was satisfied with some 400,000 subscriptions in return. This meant a loss of $1,000,000, but the magazine more than made it up by boosting its advertising rates on the basis of the increased circulation. Commercial advertising—of which NM carries a minimum—alone makes such an investment for sub-building profitable.

ADVERTISING. Many publications advertise extensively in other magazines. The subscription returns from this are so slight that usually one does not even recover the cost of the ad. Some periodicals, however, can afford to lose the money for the sake of attracting the attention of advertisers to their magazine, or to build newsstand sales.

RADIO PROMOTION. The purposes here are very similar to that of general advertising, but the subscription results are even smaller.

CREW WORK. There are certain established concerns which make a business of getting subs for magazines. They have crews of solicitors in the major states who operate on a contract basis, securing anywhere from fifty to 50,000 new subscriptions a week for a periodical. The magazine pays the solicitor and concern about ten cents for each sub and receives none of the cash payment from the sub itself. Again, the aim is to build large quantities of subscriptions in order to get advertising; for that these commercial magazines are willing to lose money on the subs themselves. Obviously NM cannot use such methods, though it is now attempting to employ a limited number of field workers to solicit subscriptions—work which is very important.

CATALOGUE AGENCIES. A number of concerns print catalogues of magazine prices, in various combination offers or alone. These catalogues are distributed all over the country, to cigar stores, stationery stores, and individuals. Millions of subscriptions are secured this way. NEW MASSES, however, has relatively little nationwide publicity and a rather special audience; so that the results it gets from catalogue agencies are pretty small.

READER SUPPORT. Run-of-the-mill commercial publications get very little from this method, except at Christmas time when readers send in subs as gifts for their friends. *But it is this reader support that* NEW MASSES *depends upon from you.* If each of you got one—just *one* new subscriber—think where we'd be. We've said it before, and we'll say it again. For it is so important and so true—yes, and so easy. Try it; try it now, this week. Will you make that a pledge, to yourself and to us? And for a hint on how to fulfill it—please turn to the back cover.

FOR the past several weeks this page has been necessarily turned over to other matters than "Between Ourselves" items, so that this is our first opportunity to inform our readers, most regretfully, that NM associate editor and movie reviewer Joy Davidman has been compelled to withdraw from her regular work in order to devote herself to the project of becoming a mother. However, she will continue to be associated with NM as a contributing editor and will, we hope, be able to write for us from time to time.

IF YOU live in Detroit or Cleveland perhaps you were one of those who made the acquaintance of NM personally, through editor Joseph North, who spoke in both those cities recently. And if you live in San Francisco, Los Angeles, or Chicago, you will have a chance to hear him during the coming weeks, as his speaking tour takes him to those cities. He will be in San Francisco on October 8, 9, and 10; Los Angeles, October 15, 16, and 17; and Chicago, on October 29, 30, and 31. He will speak in San Francisco at eight PM, Friday night, October 8, at the California Club, 1750 Clay St. The exact time and place of meetings in the other cities will be announced in future issues.

THE Workers School, whose faculty has numbered many NM editors and contributors, marks its twentieth birthday this year with the opening of the new fall term. To list fully its many courses would be impossible in this space; the best we can do is name the six main curriculum categories, to wit: "The War and the Postwar World," "History," "Marxism-Leninism," "Economics," "Trade Unionism," and miscellaneous. The new term opens on October 4 and registration is now under way at the school, which is located at 35 East 12th St., New York City.

ONE of the finest things that has come across our desk in some time is a thirty-six page pictorial reveiw of the various war activities of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union of the United States and Canada (CIO). Prepared by the union's educational department, the document is a beautiful example of photographic art work as well as a thrilling record of labor at war. We are glad of this opportunity of calling it to our readers' attention.

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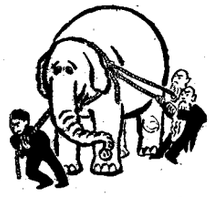
# NM SPOTLIGHT

## Another Willkie



THE Wendell Willkie who speaks to the American people from the pages of the latest issue of *Look* magazine bears only a distant resemblance to the author of *One World* and the notable speeches of a year ago. The manner is the same, but the ideas have lost their robustness and have taken on a nebulous, evasive character. Partisan political expediency has worked havoc with Mr. Willkie's candor, and straight talk has made way for the double variety.

Mr. Willkie has in the past year won wide popular acclaim because he has articulated with admirable logic and fervor the great ideas of our time, rooted in the *coalition* and *liberation* aspects of the war and the peace. Rising above narrow partisanship, he has supported and amplified the war policies of the Commander-in-Chief and thereby become a spokesman for the whole of America. And his closeness to the Roosevelt position has served to strengthen his own position with the Republican rank and file.

In his replies to five questions in *Look*, however, Mr. Willkie faces in a different direction: toward conflict with the Commander-in-Chief and toward accommodation with the reactionary defeatists and straddlers who dominate the Republican Party nationally. Mr. Willkie writes that in order to seize the opportunity that faces it in 1944 the Republican Party "must first win a victory within itself," that is, must be liberalized through the action of its "progressive and courageous members." Yet throughout most of his discussion there is the implicit assumption that this liberalization is either already a fact or is well on the way toward becoming so, and that all things evil and reactionary reside exclusively in the Democratic Party. The actual situation is of course quite different. The ascendant forces in the Republican Party—those whom Mr. Willkie will have to rout if he is to liberalize the party—are the Hoover-Taft-Vandenberg forces that stand for defeatism and reaction in both foreign and domestic policy. The dominant leadership of the Democratic Party, on the other hand, is represented, not as Mr. Willkie states, by the southern poll-taxers and the big-city political machines, but by President Roosevelt and his administration, which enjoy the support of the most progressive section of the population, organized labor.

MR. WILLKIE makes much of the past mistakes of the administration's foreign policy. But he says nothing about the commanding figures of his own party who championed America Firstism, flirted with sedition and treason, and today continue to sabotage the war effort. And when he writes that "the Republican Party is drawing closer to unity on a postwar program every day," does he have in mind the kind of "unity" achieved at the recent Mackinac Island conference, at which his own supporters surrendered to the Vandenberg-Spangler crowd?

It seems to us that if Mr. Willkie genuinely wants to clean house and become the leader of a liberal, win-the-war Republican Party, his battle will have to be not against the President, but against those responsible for the illiberal, defeatist trend that dominates his own party. And he ought to learn from the Wendell Willkie of 1942, the Willkie who spoke up for the second front and for true coalition warfare, that it is neither good statesmanship nor good practical politics to be silent on the key problem of how most quickly to achieve victory.

## Forrest Fantasies

TO FORREST DAVIS, a past master of the fluted adjective and the overly-animated verb, we must be grateful for informing us of a new danger brewing in certain circles. Unfortunately we have always known about it, and we have on several occasions commented on the grave risks embodied in the conception of Anglo-American hegemony both in the conduct of the war and the peace. Writing in the *Saturday Evening Post* of September 18, Davis summarizes in distinct anti-Soviet tones exactly what has been troubling many members of the striped-pants brigade in Washington and London; he also tells why there is a campaign on to draw both capitals closer. The truth, Davis says, is that the "enigmatic" Kremlin wants to "bolshevize" Europe,

**". . . but due to the usual Russian trickery their winter this year was extended by four months so they could continue their offensive."**



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and the righteous lads in the State Department and in the Foreign Office must unite against this fancied menace.

It has been a good, long time since we read anything in a family magazine more stupid, more blatantly designed to hamper the forging of a tripartite alliance, unless it was the irrationalities pronounced by Max Eastman in a recent issue of *Readers' Digest*. On the eve of a conference of the three powers the publication of the Davis story is an example of irresponsible journalism designed to create suspicion and distrust of the Soviet Union. The foundation for all this is the claim that the English-speaking peoples have been appeasing Moscow too long and exaggerating her military contributions. Davis concludes that since the "honeymoon of our upper classes" with Moscow is just about over it is time to get tough and show the Russians who the bosses of this world-shaking conflict really are. What is especially sad is that Davis is known to be the recipient of many a State Department "leak" and if what he writes is a yardstick of State Department thinking, there is cause for the deepest anxiety. Secretary Hull has denied that the Davis piece has any ground to support it. But his remarks were polite. They lacked any of the fury he displayed in rebuking Drew Pearson.

We can think of no sterner warning about an exclusive Anglo-American partnership than the one recently uttered by Earl Browder: "Our relations with the Soviet Union are intimately tied up with Anglo-American relations. It is an illusion to think that we can come closer to Britain by weakening our relations with the Soviet Union. The opposite is true. The weakening of one part of the Anglo-Soviet-American alliance weakens the whole structure; the strengthening of one part of it helps to strengthen the other. When we take a course which tends to separate us from our Soviet ally, we are at the same time destroying the foundations for all world order, we are taking the path of a new isolationism. These are harsh and unpleasant facts, but it is better that we face them in all their nakedness."

## General Marshall

WE MAKE the frank confession that we cannot shed the least light on the outburst of rumors, assertions, and "authoritative reports" concerning an impending shift of General Marshall's position. There are no facts as yet to guide any intelligent opinion. What we have had is a flood of gossip, largely malicious and purely speculative. Our Chief of Staff is a soldier of extraordinary talent. The operations he has planned in partnership with others reveal a meticulous sense of organization. For all the very serious shortcomings of his recent biennial report, it is nonetheless true that the stature which the army has reached is a tribute to his foresight and skill. If new military projects are in the making and require his supervision in an area outside Washington, then necessity will create the orders for such a change. In any event the editorial gauleiters of the McCormick-Patterson newspapers, especially Cissy's Washington *Times-Herald*, are again nourishing sinister circles with the defeatist tidbit that the President and General Marshall have fallen out on the conduct of the war. The evil intent of this invention is so obvious that just to mention its source is to condemn it.

## Storm on the Airwaves

THE editorial policies of the radio stations, and particularly of the networks, are now under attack Some of the news analysts are kicking about the censorship they claim is imposed upon them. The Federal Communications Commission, under the chairmanship of James L. Fly, has raised searching questions in connection with the transfer of the Blue Network from one commercial owner to another and it is demanding answers. The trade unions have publicly charged discrimination against their speakers, their broadcast proposals and the point of view which they represent. The issue as raised by the unions is perfectly clear-cut: in essence they demand the right, along with others, to present all aspects of their win-the-war program over the air. In illustration of their point, they have charged among other things that nine major radio stations refused to sell time to the United Automobile Workers for a program in support of the government's announced rollback of price levels; that the networks have frowned upon a CIO proposal for sponsoring a news commentator; that station WMKC of Columbus, Ohio, refused to let Vice-President Richard T. Frankensteen of the UAW describe the voting records of Ohio congressmen.

Unfortunately the issue has been clouded in the way it was raised by H. V. Kaltenborn in his attack on CBS and answered by CBS in full-page newspaper advertisements. Neither Kaltenborn nor CBS has mentioned support or sabotage of the war against fascism as the sole desirable criterion in selecting programs and in guiding commentators and analysts. Mr. Kaltenborn's own record in this respect makes him a doubtful champion of free speech. And the record of the networks, which gladly sponsor hours and hours of defeatist propaganda issued under the sponsorship of National Association of Manufacturers' advertisers, but refuse time and employment to progressive sponsors and speakers, renders them unfit to appear before the public as guardians of democracy.

In our opinion the present controversy will get nowhere if it is not focused upon the cardinal issue of winning the war. Within the frame-work of their natural capitalist bias, the radio stations can and frequently do give vigorous support to the war effort. The majority of American firms which buy radio time belong in the win-the-war camp. It is only a minority, one which is oriented around the defeatist clique in the NAM, that sabotages the war. And it is against these people and their radio mouthpieces that all democratic forces —the unions, the FCC, the commentators, and analysts, and the owners of the broadcasting industry—must unite.

The general issue of free speech takes on meaning only in reference to a specific situation. The specific situation today is the life-and-death one of whether or not we exterminate fascism from the face of the earth. The controversy over radio censorship and discrimination ought to be discussed and settled in accordance with that specific criterion. The FCC has the power to see to it that the radio stations operate in the public interest and today the public interest is defined in only one way, unconditional victory in the war. All the networks and all the independent stations must be held strictly to that formula.

## Labor Front

SEVERAL more trade union conventions have furnished evidence that American workers and their organizations are at the forefront of this country's win-the-war forces. The pace had been set, of course, by the annual convention of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers on which we commented last week. Looking over the positions taken by the important labor meetings of the recent period we find as an important common denominator the general triumph of the constructive, patriotic forces over those of their opponents, the appeasers and disrupters of the John L. Lewis stripe. However, in many instances the former have won only after a protracted struggle, as is evident from the fact that defeatist resolutions have frequently been introduced and have had to be exposed for what they were on the convention floor. A small minority has often registered an opposing vote to constructive measures. In some cases the appeasers have shown sufficient strength to prevent adoption of clear-cut expressions on the conduct of the war. But the important thing is that these have been exceptions. It is apparent that in the main the dissenters have been so overwhelmingly opposed that their ability to maneuver and manipulate has been restricted. The



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preponderant rank and file sentiment and that of the trade union leadership is solidly on the road to victory over the fascist enemy.

THESE generalizations are amply illustrated by some of the principal policies registered by labor bodies during the last week. An attempt by a Lewis-dominated local to put the United Rubber Workers on record against incentive systems of pay was vigorous defeated. Indeed, the Rubber Workers condemned John L. Lewis and the Smith-Connally act, demonstrated full support of Philip Murray's leadership, demanded labor's political unity in electing a win-the-war Congress in 1944, and urged cooperation with the CIO's Political Action Committee. They also called for immediate steps to establish unity among the labor movements of all the United Nations. The latter point was emphasized in the first days of the convention (still in session at the time of writing) of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers. Another early resolution of this body struck hard at the fifth column tactics of Negro-baiting, anti-Semitism, and political strife. The Shipbuilders have backed an "offensive now" policy. The Rubber Workers have taken the position that "the winning of the war in the shortest possible time is a primary concern of labor."

The Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, part of whose convention was noted by us last week, have come out strongly in favor of an immediate land invasion of Western Europe. Both the Boston CIO and the Massachusetts CIO, the latter at a political action conference, demanded an immediate second front. But in New York State a blow has been struck at the political unity urged by progressive labor. Following a generally forward-looking statewide convention in Buffalo, in which full support to the Commander-in-Chief had been voted, the State Federation of Labor headquarters has come out in favor of the Dewey-sponsored candidate for Lieutenant Governor, Senator Joe Hanley, and against the Democratic-Labor Party candidate, Lieut. Gen. William N. Haskell.

That action, which obviously contradicts the expressed desires of the rank and file workers, together with the failure of a number of labor bodies to come out forcefully for an immediate second front, are examples of weaknesses in labor's war performance. These items on the debit side, however, are heavily outweighed by the credit picture. American labor as a whole leads the nation in giving support to the Commander-in-Chief. The labor movement, especially the CIO, is showing increasing awareness of the need for political action to influence the present Congress and assure victory for the win-the-war side in 1944.

Throughout the labor movement, patriotic forces continue to grow as they de-

## Toward a Policy

THE most modest and most accurate estimate of the Fulbright resolution has been made by its author. Speaking in the House last week, he said: "I have no illusions that this resolution is the panacea for our afflictions. It expresses what I believe the people of this country desire as the fundamental principle for our conduct toward the other nations of the world. It is simply the first small step in the process of building a policy which I hope may have better results than that which we have followed in the past."

First, it ought to be clear that no congressional resolution, however well fashioned, can ensure that the United States after the war will join with other nations to maintain peace. Postwar collaboration cannot be created by resolutions, but by policy expressed through specific acts. The policy of the peace is being shaped by the policy of the war. Only to the extent that full cooperation among the United Nations is established for winning the war are guarantees built for continued cooperation in the peace. A statement like the Fulbright resolution also suffers from the weakness that it is general enough to invite lip-service from political trimmers. Thus, among those who voted for it was one of the most unsavory defeatists in the country, Rep. Hamilton Fish, who is against everything the United Nations stands for.

Bearing in mind its limitations, the Fulbright resolution or the more detailed Hill-Hatch-Ball-Burton Senate resolution can, nevertheless, assist in drawing closer the bonds among the anti-Axis nations. There is no doubt that the 360 to 29 vote by which the House went on record as "favoring the creation of appropriate international machinery with power adequate to establish and to maintain a just and lasting peace" and as "favoring participation by the United States therein" truly speaks from the heart of America. The latest survey of the National Opinion Research Center shows that seven out of every ten Americans favor participation in some postwar union of nations, and only thirteen percent are definitely opposed.

Most significant too is the action of the American Legion convention. Before the war Legion leadership and policy were permeated with that flamboyant, jingoistic ultra-"nationalism" which is the twin of America Firstism. This trend is by no means extinct, as is evident from the recent speeches of the Legion's retiring national commander, Roane Waring. But so strong is the pro-war and progressive sentiment of the membership that the present convention unanimously adopted a forthright resolution reaffirming the Legion's faith in our government's foreign policy, warmly endorsing the good neighbor policy in Latin America, supporting unconditional surrender as the only basis for peace with the Axis, and declaring that our national interests can best be served after the war by participation in an association of nations backed up by force to maintain peace. The Legion burned additional bridges to its own political past by condemning by name Ham Fish, one of its founders, for permitting the use of his congressional frank by subversive individuals and groups.

We hope the Senate will lose no time in passing the Fulbright resolution or its equivalent. What is urgently needed, moreover, is its immediate implementation through the strengthening of the ties among the leading powers, the United States, Russia, Britain and China, and through the assumption by the United States and Britain of the full military obligations of coalition warfare. In other words, international collaboration tomorrow means, above all, the western invasion of Europe today.



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feat and isolate their opponents. The pace of this development, however, must be greatly accelerated in preparation for the nationwide conventions of the AFL (October 4) and the CIO (November 1).

## 555

GOOD news for all who know the splendid work of the organized teachers of New York is the announcement that Local 5, Teachers Union, and Local 537, New York College Teachers Union, have affiliated to the State, County, and Municipal Workers of America, CIO. The two locals have combined and have been granted a charter as Local 555 of the New York District of the SCMWA.

The New York teachers' locals, which for years constituted the largest and most vigorous group in the American Federation of Teachers, AFL, were expelled from that organization in 1941 at the instigation of persons who saw Red at every sign of progressivism. One of those responsible for this purge was Prof. George S. Counts, who has since become a moving spirit in the right wing cabal which has been attempting to disrupt and Hearstize the American Labor Party. During the two years of their independent existence the two teachers' union locals continued to champion the interests of New York teachers and exercised wide influence in the labor and progressive movement. With their affiliation to one of the flourishing unions of the CIO, we feel certain that their usefulness both to the teaching profession and to their community will be further enhanced.

## WATCH ON THE POTOMAC by BRUCE MINTON

# MANPOWER SHORTAGE?

*Washington.*

THE return of Congress resembled nothing so much as the opening of school after a long summer vacation, with the same swapping of stories, the same back-slapping and noisy welcomes. The main question, of course, in the minds of most observers is whether the temper of Congress changed during the three-month lay-off, and if it has, how much? Most members met their constituents, many talked with organized labor. Did what they heard and saw during the summer alter any viewpoints and will the members talk and act differently from now on?

Frankly, I don't know the answer. I have talked to some of the returning legislators, but their remarks were inclined to be general. All of them say they were mighty glad for the opportunity to see the folks back home. Some were impressed by the meetings arranged by organized labor. But how seriously the majority were affected remains to be seen. The only indication so far—a week after the House and Senate were called to order—is the fact that no one appears anxious to stick his neck out. Things have started slowly. The Wheeler bill to forbid the drafting of pre-Pearl Harbor fathers failed to get the support the reactionaries confidently expected for it. The overwhelming passage of the House Fulbright resolution is another positive symptom. What next? Sooner or later, Congress must act on taxes, economic stabilization, repeal of the Smith-Connally act, the poll tax, and other fundamental issues. But how it will act is impossible to predict.

Actually, it would be a mistake to consider whatever groundwork was laid in the past three months to bring Congress into line with the needs of the war, as in itself decisive. That is, congressional attitudes will be determined not so much by what happened this summer as by the effectiveness of the follow-up. This follow-up must be three-fold: (1) there is an imperative need for definite and firm administration leadership; (2) the people's movements, and in particular organized labor, must bring continual and increasingly powerful pressure on the legislators; (3) and, of immediate import, there must be a heavy increase of voting registrations, especially in industrial areas, because unless labor can point to a significant registration of workers in localities where the unions expect to exercise their influence, the legislators are apt to be unimpressed by labor's political demands. The formation of the CIO's political action committee under the direction of Sidney Hillman is therefore of greatest significance, for that is the sort of approach which congressmen, of all people, most readily understand and respond to.

THE first big show put on by the reconvened Congress was the Senate Military Affairs Committee hearing on the father draft, at which the Chief of Staff, General Marshall, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Navy, Admiral King, testified. The cameramen turned out in force along with the press, and even the florid and dapper chairman, Senator Reynolds, who devotes his time to stirring up anti-Semitism, anti-Negro hatred, and anti-Communism, was on hand with a new and quite modish moustache in dull red, the pride of his summer's leisure. He seemed to lose interest in the proceedings as General Marshall incisively emphasized that any delay in drafting fathers risked prolongation of the war. It soon became obvious as General Marshall spoke that Wheeler's attempt to block the draft was doomed. Naturally, Wheeler did not give up trying; he questioned Marshall like a prosecuting attorney who hopes that the witness will make a slip of the tongue that can be used with devastating effect. But for all their eagerness, Wheeler and his pals came off second best. And General Marshall brought out several facts crucial to an understanding of the war.

The General pointed out that all troops now mobilized are on demand at a certain time and a certain place; any cut back in the draft would necessitate dangerous reductions in the size of the army and a change of strategy, at a cost exceeding expected losses from enemy action. Moreover, the General stated that so far only "rather small ground forces of the army have been in action," and that from now on the need is to throw greater and greater forces into decisive combat. "Everything we do should be done to avoid involving us in a protracted struggle," the General insisted; the longer the war, the greater the cost in lives. The need now is to strike immediately with every man and every weapon we can muster. And although the second front was not mentioned in so many words, there were implications in General Marshall's remarks which ought to be clear enough.

THE father-draft flurry, engineered by Wheeler and his friends—by the time this appears in print they may have already gone down to defeat on this disruptive issue—raises the problem of manpower mobilization. There are those in Congress eager



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to rush through the Austin-Wadsworth bill, a national service act authorizing the use of the most rigorous compulsion against labor. The excuse for this is the so-called manpower shortage. The bill is backed by those who seek an opportunity to use the war emergency to smash the unions and to make the country safe for what they call "free enterprise," so dear to the heart of the NAM.

From all indications, President Roosevelt is firmly opposed to the Austin-Wadsworth type of repressive legislation. Yet, even though there may be doubt as to how much credence should be given the present cry of certain industrialists about a manpower "shortage," there can be no doubt that a severe crisis exists in the distribution and utilization of manpower. In Washington, it is pretty much taken for granted that the recent Baruch report on manpower was made with the double intent of solving this crisis and of deflating the advocates of the Austin-Wadsworth bill before Congress decided to act on it. The question logically arises as to how effective are the solutions proposed by Baruch.

Supposedly on the basis of the Baruch report, War Mobilization Director Byrnes announced what he called the West Coast plan to cut through manpower difficulties, particularly in airplane manufacture. But Byrnes' proposals for the far west do not follow the suggestions in the Baruch report. They are based on an over-simplified mathematical approach—committees will reappraise outstanding contracts, they will grant manpower priorities to this or that plant on the basis of the reappraisal, and having determined where manpower is needed and in what numbers, they will shovel workers into the plants in order of their priority. This mechanistic "solution" is bound to fail, since it does not attempt to determine whether manpower is being fully utilized, whether hoarding is being eliminated, whether the demands by employers for more labor are based on bedrock needs.

Actually, without labor-management committees in the plants themselves (and they do not exist in aircraft factories) there is no adequate check on the utilization of manpower. Byrnes' proposals provide for no checking of any sort. True, the War Manpower Commission has authority to inspect plants, but so far it has never exercised this power, and Byrnes does not urge inspection. Instead, he is content to take the employers' estimate of manpower requirements, with the result that there is no way to diminish hoarding, or the inefficient and inadequate utilization of the labor supply, or a myriad of other abuses.

The rumor circulates here that Byrnes, known to favor national service legislation, has put forward the West Coast plan with full knowledge that it will fail as the last "alternative" to the Austin-Wadsworth bill or something very much like it. But those who go on to accuse Baruch of playing the same tricky game tread on less substantial ground. For the Baruch report is far more satisfactory than Byrnes' action, and by implication places most of the blame for improper manpower mobilization on Byrnes, who has steadfastly refused to carry out the President's directive for over-all production planning, and who has evaded his responsibility to integrate manpower and production through coordinated, centralized planning.

The Baruch report can actually be utilized to support the case for labor-management committees and for labor participation in solving the manpower crisis. At this writing, neither the CIO nor the AFL has expressed definite reactions to the report. But the way is open for them to stress that the failure up to now to utilize manpower intelligently stems directly from Byrnes' refusal to plan.

When I mentioned earlier that the temper of Congress will be determined to a large extent by the pressure exerted by the people, and by labor in particular, one of the things I had in mind was the Baruch report. Labor has an opportunity to use this report to great advantage. For while it is too soon to guess how Congress will respond in the coming session, it is not too soon to predict that congressional action will be colored by the weight of popular pressure brought to bear on Washington.

## Underground

It shouldn't surprise anyone that the same tories in the Polish government-in-exile who are so bitterly anti-Soviet should also be waging a war of words against Czechoslovaks whom they consider to be "too pro-Soviet." It is these Poles who also deny Czechoslovak claims to that part of Silesia which was torn away from Czechoslovakia by Poland during the Munich "settlement."

Nevertheless the people of former Polish and Czechoslovak Silesia work closely together against their common enemy, Hitler, and his occupation authorities. The Beskid Mountains, a densely wooded and rough mountain chain in southern Silesia, are full of small groups of Czech and Lach and Polish partisans. The first groups of guerrillas were Czech workers from the huge armament and metal plants in the Silesian-Moravian industrial triangle near Moravska-Ostrava-Vitkovice-Tesin. Miners from the Silesian coal pits also flocked to the mountains as early as December, 1941. But the partisan movement in the Beskids really got under way during the months of the great Soviet offensive last winter.

A large band of them known as the "Sons of the Beskids" raided several German food stores in Silesia. The stores had been accumulated by the Gestapo and army foraging details in cooperation with the Czech quisling government at Prague. This took place early in January 1943. Now underground reports reaching London from the Beskid region tell the story of a most daring attack by these guerrillas. One of the key railroad lines connecting the German eastern front with its armament bases in Festung Europa—the line from the Bohemian munitions center of Pilsen (the Skoda works) to Polish Galicia—runs for several miles on the fringe of the Beskids. The vital Kosice-Oderberg railroad, necessary for the transportation of Rumanian oil and Slovak pulp to the German Upper Silesian industrial area, also passes through the Beskid foothills. Both railroad lines were cut by the guerrillas in March 1943. Czech and Polish partisans collaborated in this operation, which bottled up traffic by destroying four bridges and tunnels.

Nazi authorities at Prague and Cracow raged. An award of 100,000 marks was offered anyone who could lead to the capture or annihilation of the "Sons of the Beskids." Supreme Gestapo chief Kaltenbrunner, the successor of Heydrich who was killed at Prague, came to Silesia to organize personally a vast manhunt. But they caught no one. Two small villages in the Beskids were burned to the ground by the Nazis and the monument of the great poet of the Beskid people, Petr Bezruc, was smashed. A few days after the manhunt, the "Sons of the Beskids" flooded the region with leaflets bearing as their title the words: "We were —we are—and we shall be, despite the Gestapo."



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## FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

# RED ARMY AVALANCHE

THE situation today, as never before during this war, favors a quick victory over Germany. Quick, of course, does not mean easy and bloodless. There will be no easy and bloodless victory, but a quick one can be achieved in Europe. The Red Army, in one mighty, overwhelming sweep, has thrust the battle line back to its position of two years ago (with minor variations: for instance two years ago the Germans did not hold the Crimea, but, on the other hand, held the Chernigov Region). In September 1941, all the operational arrows on the map were pointing eastward. Now they point westward.

What were then German offensive salients now are nothing but Soviet-made traps. And vice versa, what were German-made traps are now Soviet offensive salients. The strategic situation has radically changed.

The so-called "Washington military circles" in May of this year were still apprehensive of Germany crushing the USSR in one mighty last blow (see Glen Derry's article on this in the New York *Sun* of Thursday, September 23). Naturally, they did not expect the Red Army to take the offensive in the summer. Those circles are "astounded," which seems to be a sort of permanent state with them, at least as far as Red Army achievements are concerned.

This time, however, they have more right to be astounded—for the spectacle of the German defeat is really awe-inspiring. Every stategic objective Hitler ever had in Russia has been kicked to kingdom come. His plans for the destruction of the Red Army, the overthrow of the Soviet regime, the capitulation of the USSR, the capture of Moscow, Leningrad and Baku, the oil, the wheat, the coal, and iron—all have evaporated in the heat of the Red Army's fire.

And in this same heat the mighty Wehrmacht is melting and "running"—excuse me: "conducting a series of elastic detaching maneuvers."

THE Red Army is rolling smack up to the Dnieper line on a 500 mile front. [Col. T.'s analysis was written before the latest news—which fills the headlines as we go to press—that the Soviets have pierced the Dnieper river line north and south of Kiev.—Editors.] In the center the Red Army is threatening to press the German army groups against the terrible Pripet marshes which stretch, oval-shaped, from the Dnieper roughly opposite Gomel west to the Soviet border at Brest-Litovsk, 100 miles wide (north to south) and 250 miles long (east to west).

The great pillars of the strategic "Gate of Smolensk," which is a gap through which both the Dnieper and the Dvina can be outflanked—Smolensk and Vitebsk—are in imminent danger of capture. At this writing (Friday, September 24) the pentagon of the fortresses Vitebsk-Smolensk-Roslavl-Unecha-Gomel has lost its Unecha cornerstone, is losing Roslavl and is about to lose Smolensk and Gomel. The so-called spinal column of the German front—the line from Leningrad to Odessa line is under direct and immediate attack along a 500-mile front (Cherkassy-Kiev-Gomel-Mohilev-Orsha-Vitebsk-Nevel). Two great Soviet salients at Velikie Luki and at Kiev, are only 275 and 250 miles from the Soviet border, respectively.

The military position of the Germans is such that the emergence of a two-front phase of the war would bring about disaster for Hitler by fostering complete despair among the officers and generals of the Wehrmacht. This aside from the purely military effect, which is obvious. The officer class would fold up under the blow, for they know well enough the military meaning of a second front. They don't think it is a "political issue."

THE Germans, as we said, are facing a military disaster of great, but not yet final, magnitude in the USSR. And at Salerno they have lost the rearguard action, they will lose Naples, and even Rome, pretty soon. The air front is creeping up on them steadily. Nights are getting longer and the "bombing time" increases, while the length of the bomber flights to the targets decreases.

But all this will not end the war in 1943 unless a second front in western Europe is opened now, when the now famous "autumn leaves" are already falling. I have been claiming stubbornly and steadfastly that to open such a front was possible—claiming it for eighteen months, or more. As a matter of fact, in the September 1, 1942 issue of NEW MASSES I wrote an article entitled "Dieppe Proved It." What did Dieppe prove? That the Atlantic defenses of the Germans could be broken by a determined and well organized attack. And if it was possible to break the "Atlantic wall" then, it is surely possible to do so *now*. Several months after Dieppe, Canadian General MacNaughton said that "the operation could have been made to stick," or words to that effect.

And now a bombshell is dropped right in the staid precincts of the House of Commons. Commander Redvers M. Prior, R.N., D.S.O., D.S.C., M.P. (Conservative) made his maiden speech on September 22. Commander Prior, a hero of Dunkerque, was wounded at Dieppe and left on the beach where he was taken prisoner by the Germans. He escaped from the German hospital train and after months of hiding and wandering through France, reached Spain and Gibraltar and thence was repatriated to England where he took his seat in Parliament.

Commander Prior ought to know what the situation was at Dieppe. Like the proverbial Charley—he was *there*, and *stayed there*, getting a good look at the "Atlantic wall" from backstage. And on September 22 he told a hushed house *how near the assault forces came to breaking through at Dieppe*. He said he believed that Hitler's westwall could be breached by determined, well organized assault. A French officer told Commander Prior that during the St. Nazaire raid by Allied Commandos, hundreds of Nazis were giving themselves up to Frenchmen and that, in this officer's opinion, 10,000 Allied troops could have broken through the German line at that time and "pitched the Nazis out of the Brest peninsula."

In other words, a hero, a British officer and a participant in the Dieppe raid, a man who saw the workings of the German defense line *from the rear*, claims that a real second front could have been established thirteen months ago. We are told then that we had no shipping, but less than three months later 3,000 Allied ships were steaming along the 2,500 mile sea route to North Africa. And we were asking only for those same ships, but on a twenty-five mile run! Were we so unreasonable, or so "political"?

Commander Prior's story rated the front pages, but it was buried in the back pages of most of the papers. It is a real bombshell in the lap of the "anti-second-fronters"—and coming from a member of Mr. Churchill's own party, too!

It is clear that a second front is possible now, because it was possible a year ago. And it is even more urgent today.



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# MR. CHURCHILL AND THE EXPERTS

*By the Editors*

IT COULD not have been that Mr. Churchill, before he addressed Parliament last week, was in total ignorance of the surge of events on the Eastern Front. However, he apparently chose to disregard them. It was the American newspaper correspondents who showed greater perception of what the capture of Smolensk and the siege of Kiev meant in the way of rich opportunities for breaching the Nazis' Atlantic defenses. The disparateness between what the reporters knew and what Mr. Churchill said becomes even clearer from a London report by Drew Middleton to the New York *Times* of September 26. This able observer has concluded that the Russian victories demand a drastic revision of plans for the invasion of Europe. Middleton carefully emphasizes that he is not speaking for himself but transmitting the opinions of qualified military men. These experts, even those who in the past were "violent" opponents of a full scale attack, are admitting that such operations are now feasible. They see that German strength is being dispersed from France into Italy; that the condition of Germany is such that whatever reinforcements have been made of the French garrison are unlikely to be "as good as the troops rushed to Italy."

As for the Italian campaign, Middleton indicates that here the Allied drive is forcing the Wehrmacht back into Lombardy, not into Germany. And finally Middleton reports that "the hazards and difficulties of a second front are great but are not as imposing as heretofore in the opinion of many judges. They add that the military and political urgency is greater than it ever was before not only from the point of view of military victory but also in the making of the peace."

It is easy to see why Mr. Churchill's speech, compared to the opinions reported by Drew Middleton, did little to dispel the gloom pervading the Island fortress since the Quebec meeting.

HE ARGUED with his critics but failed to answer them. And what took place in the House of Commons is a concentrated sample of an intense national debate ranging from war factories to training camps into all those democratic organizations in Britain that have given spirit and drive to the war enterprise. Of all the questions that trouble the average, enlightened Englishman, one stands in the forefront: Why does his government delay operations across the Channel into France?

The Prime Minister's reply was as usual cloaked in rhythmic phrases but it lacked substance. No evasion of the critical issue of the second front can be satisfactory, no matter what the stature or authority of the evader. Because apparent even to the inexpert eye is the singular truth that every military need for a western invasion has been fulfilled. A fresh wrinkle in Mr. Churchill's report is that Germany is developing new weapons which must be met with countermeasures. But this can hardly serve to justify delay for it is a problem that will exist as long as the war continues. The enemy has no tactical secrets which cannot be mastered in the process of annihilating his forces. There were several other military difficulties over which Mr. Churchill expressed anxiety. He has, however, been worried about them before and they will remain a source of concern to the last day of combat. But they cannot be inflated at this late date beyond their actual significance, and they cannot be lifted to the surface repeatedly as the reason for holding back the command to move forward.

And finally, Mr. Churchill, in the face of what is an overwhelming desire for a decisive commitment in France, resorted to the ancient plea that only the experts are in a position to make the decision. This worship of the experts, this peculiar idolatry, is too threadbare a religion for Mr. Churchill to hide behind especially when the uniformed gods disagree among themselves. Mr. Gallacher, the Communist member of Parliament, put it exactly right when in effect he asked the Prime Minister whether among his experts he included Stalin. It was a beautiful question, expertly evaded by Mr. Churchill. All he could say by way of refutation was to engage in a bit of Red-baiting unworthy of a war leader.

THERE is every reason to believe that Mr. Churchill has become the outstanding proponent of delaying a second front—perhaps not indefinitely but certainly for the immediate future. Pressure may make him relax his rigid opinion sooner than he may desire. But until there is a second front he will have to shoulder the charge of championing caution and limited liabilities. There is also every reason to believe that at the very moment when his government agreed to open a second front in June of 1942, such a move was farthest from his mind. He confessed as much in last week's address, for he makes clear that in June of 1942 the decision was taken to send armies into North Africa and not to fulfill the obligations incurred a few days earlier with the Russians. This is not, of course, the first time that the Prime Minister revealed his mind as to how seriously he held the commitment to the Red high command. In November of last year, for example, he made the same confession before the Commons. At that time the core of his rationalization was that the second front agreement was one way of deceiving the enemy even if it meant misleading the British also, to say nothing of the Russians. And there is no point talking about the sanctity of an international contract, which the Molotov document was, but there is every reason to question Mr. Churchill's good faith and to remind him that the Anglo-Soviet agreement called for joint warfare against Germany and not for two separate wars.

In his Quebec speech Mr. Churchill confirmed the growing belief that so far as 1943 was concerned, he was not interested in serious coalition warfare. There it became obvious that a serious divergence existed between Anglo-American and Soviet strategy and that little had been done toward achieving a military union with the Russians. For a moment it also seemed that the American experts at Quebec had again consented to this policy. But the truth is that the Americans insisted that continued postponement of the second front was not consonant with the realities of the European military scene. They were overruled by Mr. Churchill. Diplomatic flumdummery makes it difficult for one ally officially and openly to criticize another—the rules of Anglo-American diplomatic etiquette are too severe in such matters—but that seems to have been the real picture.

LAST week we commented editorially on the opinion of Maj. Gen. Lewis H. Brereton, commander of American troops in the Middle East, that a Balkan attack would protract the war and his belief that we must drive "straight at the center of Germany without deviation." General Brereton's remarks, as reported in an interview in the New York *Times* of September 5, were purely personal, but it would not be far fetched to assume that they reflected the thinking of leading American military figures. If they did not, then we may be sure that by now he would have been rebuked by his superiors for giving the wrong kind of interview. It was such perspectives as General Brereton's



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which Mr. Churchill for the time being opposed.

And as long as he persists in hiding behind the experts whom he portrays as being unanimous in delaying a second front, it would have been fair to inform his listeners in Parliament that there are British experts—let alone Americans—who also disagree with him. There is, for example, Commander Prior of the Royal Navy. In Commander Prior's estimation, more fully discussed by our Colonel T. in this issue, an invasion of France is now perfectly reasonable. Thousands of troops in Britain, he says, are "aching to get at grips with the enemy." And then there is the belief recently expressed in the London *Sunday Pictorial* by Maj. Gen. F. C. Fuller that the English Channel was still our best road. He concluded that the war in Italy does not render substantial help to Russia. Opposed to an attack on the Balkans, General Fuller also argues for a landing in France.

These two military men of high rank are not the only ones to hold dissident views. Among them must also be included such British army figures as General Gough and Field Marshal Lord Milne—not to mention the non-professionals such as Lord Strabolgi and Lord Beaverbrook, who has again been recalled to a position in the reorganized Cabinet. In April of last year Lord Beaverbrook spoke up as follows: "I believe in the Russian system which holds to the faith that the best form of defense is attack. And I believe that Britain should adopt it by setting up somewhere along the two thousand miles of coastline now held by the Germans a second front in western Europe. . . . This is a chance, an opportunity to bring the war to an end here and now." And Lord Beaverbrook testified further: "How admirably Britain is now equipped in weapons of war for directing such an attack, I well know."

Mr. Churchill then has no unanimous opinion among British military men to support delay. And if political considerations motivate his vacillation the consequences for England, and our own country, can only be tragic. Not even the contemplated tripartite conference will be able to iron out the differences among the coalition's components if there is no unity first on organizing victory in 1943. Necessary and welcome as this meeting is it cannot take the place of joint action in the west. This is the rock bottom foundation on which to build the structure of a permanent and mutually beneficial alliance. The British people will be infused with fresh confidence to exert greater pressure if all Americans strengthen their support of the President and demand that the government now overrule Mr. Churchill and those here who endorse his policy. The road forward is far from blocked.

## Stettinius Appointment

It is indicative of the fetid quality of State Department atmosphere that the appointment of a man without any diplomatic experience whatsoever as its second ranking official should be universally greeted as a refreshing development. The choice of Edward Stettinius, Jr., lend-lease administrator, to succeed Sumner Welles as Undersecretary of State is at the very least a rebuff for the devious Adolph Berles and Breckinridge Longs who panted for the post. It is some assurance that those most responsible for the seamy side of American foreign policy, for the coddling of the Francos and Peyroutons and the intrigues against the Soviet Union, will not have their influence strengthened as a result of the ousting of Welles.

It can also be assumed that the Stettinius shift, like the reported appointment of W. Averell Harriman as ambassador to Moscow, is a move to strengthen our relations with our allies, particularly the USSR. Both men come from the ranks of big business, and both represent that school of thought in American business which recognizes the realities of the post-Munich world and gives first place to the winning of the war and therefore to the development of friendly collaboration with our principal allies. Thus there is reason to hope that though Welles is gone, the Welles approach to the war and the peace will be continued by his successor.

At the same time there is no doubt that the appointment of Stettinius changes the character of the post he fills. Stettinius' experience lies in economic affairs and in administration; in diplomatic and political matters he is a novice. His appointment underlines the fact that in the midst of the greatest war in history the department which deals with the complexities of foreign policy no longer has a diplomat of major stature. The selection of Stettinius may of course indicate a new economic emphasis in our foreign policy in view of the approaching liberation of large areas of Europe. This emphasis appears to have been further strengthened by the creation of the new Office of Foreign Economic Administration, with Leo T. Crowley as its head. Paradoxically, this step seems to weaken the State Department's direct control over foreign economic activities, since the new agency will be independent though it must function "in conformity with the foreign policy of the United States as defined by the Secretary of State."

There are, however, no purely economic questions; for the solution of the economic problems that arise in the sphere of foreign relations, correct political policy is decisive. There is no doubt that as a policy-making institution the State Department is, with the departure of Welles, weaker than it was before. To bring that department in step with the needs of the war and the peace and with the best traditions of our country will require a thorough fumigation that will rid us of the subterranean services of the Berles, Longs, and James Clement Dunns.

## In the Comic Books

A crippled newsboy happens to spot some saboteurs at work. They knock him head over heels; whereupon he remarks, "Captain Marvel!" and lo, a flash of lightning zooms down from the sky to transform him into Captain Marvel, Jr., America's Mightiest Boy, possessor of the power of flight and the strength to butt his head through six-inch armor plate. What then happens to the rats shouldn't happen to a dog.

These small miracles form the favored reading of young and sometimes not-so-young America. Told in cartoons liberally sprinkled with text, the fairytales of the comic book are not unlike the fairytales of Grimm. In them the weak and despised, armed in virtue and magic spells, demolish bank robbers, kidnappers, mad scientists, and above all the various agents of the Axis. Incidental reforms of spoiled children and sourpuss adults diversify proceedings, and the collaborators of the superman-hero may range from kobolds tunnelling through a mythical mountain to Soviet meteorologists defending the North Pole against Nazis.

It is easy and inaccurate to despise the comic books. Their obvious crudities of style are quite often balanced by real imagination and understanding, and their political insight usually represents a definite advance over, say, the Geopolitik of La Luce. Little Orphan Annie, the golden-haired fink of the Chicago *Tribune*, is fortunately a rare type among them. As an influence on children, their simple line drawings are surely preferable to hysterical radio sound effects, trashy commercial prose, and sexy movies. Being written expressly for children, indeed, they are usually careful to avoid the questions of adult behavior which often perplex the young in other forms of entertainment. The simplifications, ethical and esthetic, which draw down upon them the contempt of the sophisticated, are psychologically necessary in their field, and no more to be condemned than the simplicity of the fate of the Big Bad Wolf. Using folk material and the classics as their sources, they may have definite cultural value, and will probably play a significant role in the education of the future.



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# VICTORY HAS A PRICE

***Dollars are important but no substitute for policy, writes Earl Browder. Timely military action, true coalition, maximum production, a strong home front . . . some of the ingredients of policy.***

IN THE summer of 1943 the war was in its twelfth year, if we begin to count with the Japanese occupation of Manchuria. It is ten years old if we count from Hitler's assumption of power in Germany. It is eight years since Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia. Or six years since the Nazi-inspired insurrection against the Spanish Republic. Five years ago Czechoslovakia was betrayed at Munich. Four years ago in September, Britain formally declared war. Two years ago on June 22 the Nazis launched the invasion of the Soviet Union which has been the chief military phase of the entire war. And on December 7, 1941, Japan struck at Pearl Harbor to end the American illusion of being a benevolent spectator in the world storm. One can take his choice as to the length of the war by choosing which date he counts as the crucial one on which the war began in earnest for him. But whether the war is considered in its twelfth or second year, the year of 1943 has, for the first time, presented the anti-Axis world with the clear prospect of victory—if we are prepared to pay the necessary price.

What price victory? After the war of 1914-18 such a question came to symbolize the mass disillusionment with the fruits of victory.

Today we must examine the price of victory more thoroughly than ever before. We have faced its alternative, the price of defeat, and found in it the destruction of everything which gives value to life for a long time to come. It is only when the perspective of defeat has been unconditionally rejected that the price of victory can be realistically weighed.

The first installment we must pay on the price of victory is the unconditional subordination of every other interest or goal to the single end of victory. That is the kind of war this one is. It is for keeps, and the stakes are everything that stands for human progress. Any half-heartedness in this war finally results in defeatism. We must be prepared to pay, in rising installments, everything that victory demands. And no matter how much we have paid, default on any single installment *may* result in the immediate loss of victory and *certainly* brings penalties.

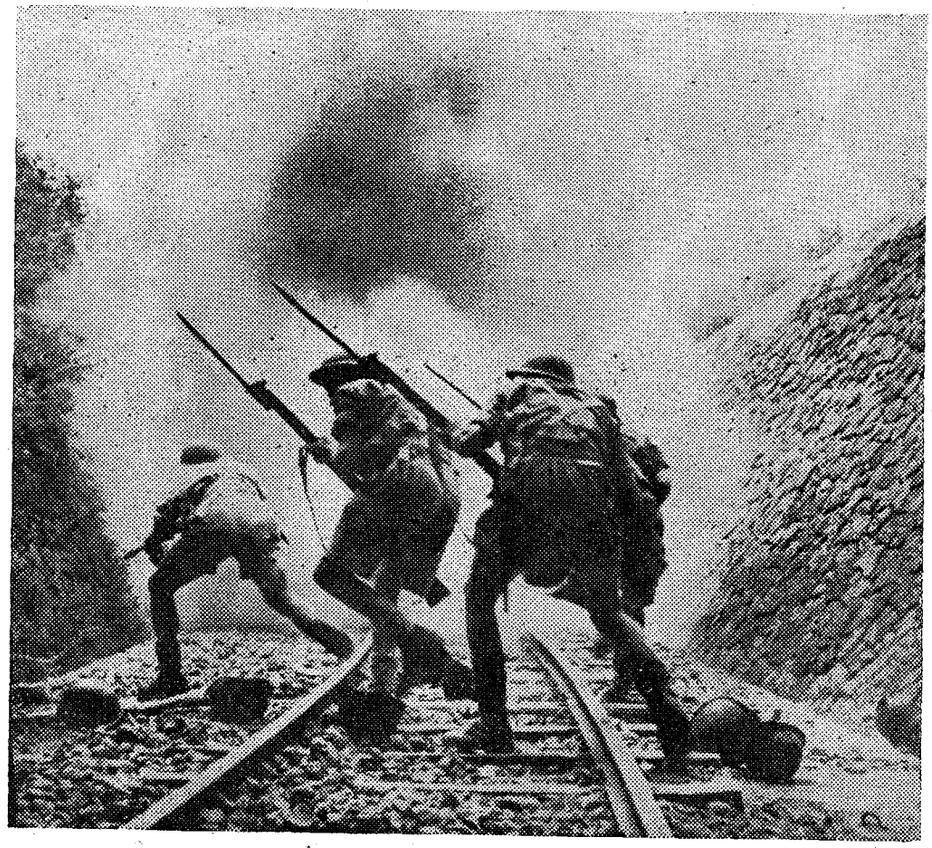
That is the basic problem, stated in the vulgar terms of the market place.

ONE can state the issue, of course, in noble and high-sounding phrases. On this plane victory is a jealous goddess who bestows her favors only upon those who woo her with complete devotion and single-mindedness. Since, however, the American people and especially our ruling circles are much more familiar with markets, prices, installments, etc., than they are with goddesses and their jealousies, I choose to use the more familiar language. The essential meanings are the same.

The price of victory is, of course, not expressed solely in dollars. Above all victory demands those unpurchasable qualities of courage, devotion, understanding, out of which can be built the *policy* which victory demands.

Even these unpurchasable things, however, find a negative expression in dollars. When they are lacking we suffer penalties which multiply the dollar cost of victory. It has been estimated, for example, that the US war budget for one and a half years has been over 265 billions of dollars, many times more than that of all previous wars combined—although our fighting participation in the war, expressed in casualties, has been but a fraction of the year and a half we spent in the war of 1914-18. This enormous dollar-price-of-admission into the current war is not merely the measure of a higher war technique; it represents, above all, the dollar penalties imposed upon our nation for our past crimes against courage, devotion, and understanding in the cause for which we now must fight—the cause of human solidarity and progress. The police court of history has levied enormous fines upon us, as it were, for our past cowardice, disloyalty, and sloppy thinking.

The dollar price of victory is thus a variable factor; it rises enormously with every weakness and shortcoming in policy, it is greatly reduced by every bold and correct improvement in policy. Those who see the price of victory exclusively or mainly in terms of dollars, therefore, are bad leaders who will surely lead us to defeat if we go with them. The source of most of the mistakes or crimes of Congress in this war has been its misunderstanding of this question, its conception that when it had voted unlimited dollars for the war budget it had done its duty and could then go on to play its traditional politics, in the most light-minded manner, with the unpurchasable factors of policy—which include our own war leadership, national unity, relations with our allies, and so on.



**Timely military action—which means the opening of a real second front in western Europe—is the major factor of a policy for victory. The photo above shows British soldiers in Sicily, in the first Allied invasion of European territory—a good beginning but far from a second front to smash Hitler quickly.**



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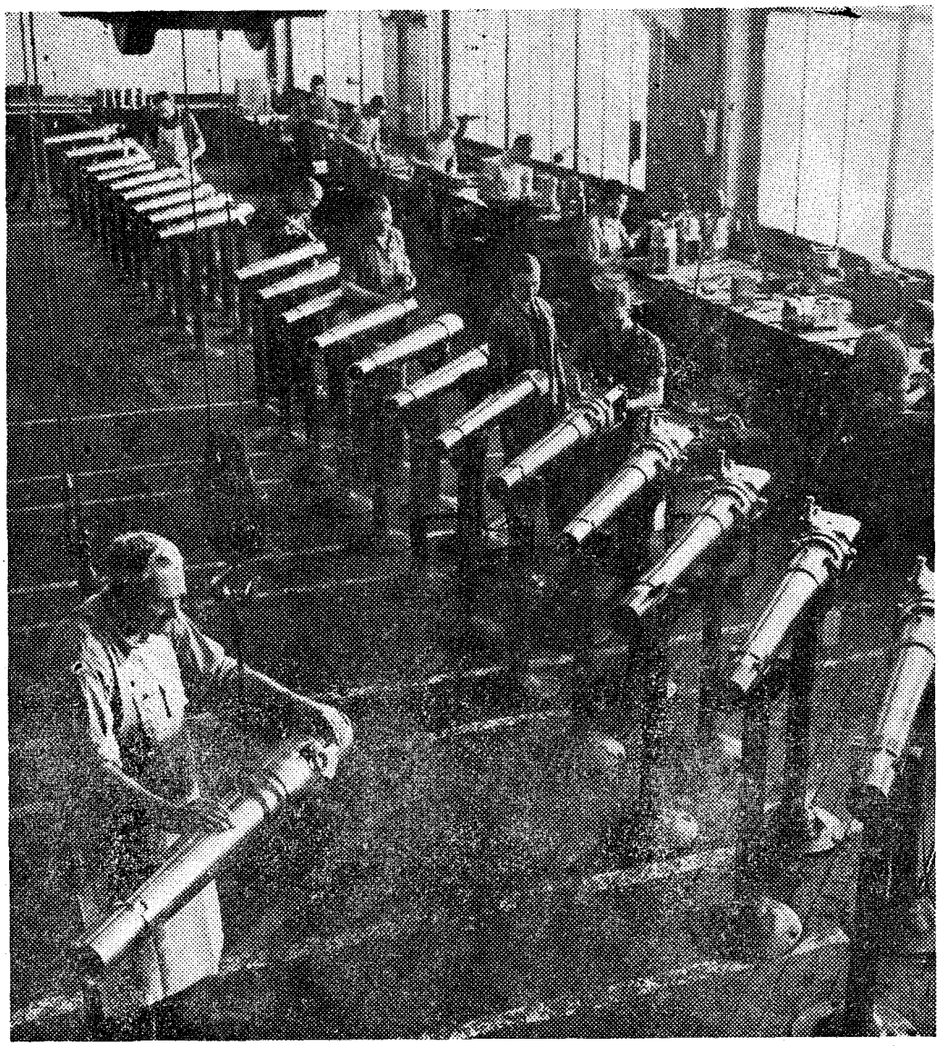

**Production—at maximum—another vital ingredient of policy.**

I am not, of course, arguing that the necessary price of victory does not include a dollar price along with the best of policies. Dollars in the service of policy, as many dollars as necessary, are indispensable. But dollars as a substitute for policy can only purchase disaster. And we still make more use of dollars than correct policy, our money is more active than our brains. This is the main obstacle that still stands between us and victory.

THERE has been little resistance in the US to the adoption of war budgets. But there has been enormous resistance to every step in the formulation of those policies necessary or most conducive to victory.

The problem is not resolved by translating dollars into armaments. This step is, of course, of the greatest importance and not so simple as the average congressman believes. Armaments are much closer to the price of victory than dollars, and the country learned, with the May and June lag in production, that unlimited dollars cannot bring unlimited armaments, nor even insure a steady increase in armaments. But it is necessary to insist, again and again, before we can properly solve even this limited problem of production, that armaments are important only in the service of policy and can never be a substitute for policy. Armaments, like dollars, expended without the guidance of a sound over-all policy, lead not to victory but only to greater expenditures and finally to defeat.

Experience of both the Allies and the Axis goes to prove this fundamental axiom of the price of victory. Ten years ago the anti-Axis countries held the overwhelming preponderance of money, armaments, and strategic positions; but because they lacked adequate policy—that is, they did not know what to do and how to do it—the Axis had by 1939 so reversed the relation of forces that it was questionable whether its domination of the world could be prevented by any means. By 1943 this is again reversed so that the anti-Axis coalition has the military preponderance, thanks to the exploits of the Red Army, brought into action by Hitler's "intuition," plus the first appearance of *common policy* in the anti-Axis camp.

*The problem of victory over the Axis is to ensure that there is not a third reversal of this relationship, which would result from a breakdown of policy in the Allied coalition.*

AT THIS point a new feature appears in the problem of the price of victory. The victories of the Soviet Union over the Nazis are so fundamental that already they seem to guarantee against a possible revival of Axis preponderance. Consequently there has arisen in America and Britain the thought that the military and political price of victory has already been paid in full, or almost in full; that the Red Army will do the bulk of the fighting which remains to be done; that Britain and America can relax, mark time, and allow the ripe fruits of victory to fall into our laps. It is a theory that from now on, by and large, victory is for us without price.

This thought exerts a dangerously seductive influence which is not lessened by the fact that it is not always openly expressed but operates, even unconsciously, as the implicit justification for a thousand minor acts and policies which total up to gradual withdrawal from full prosecution of the war. How else can we in the United States explain the absolute drop in war production in May and June, the insurrection against the President by Congress, the complacency which has greeted the outbreaks of civil war by the fifth column in Detroit, Los Angeles, Beaumont, Mobile, and other places, the toleration and encouragement given by the press to John L. Lewis' strike-wave conspiracy, and in general the sharp crisis that arose on the home front in the summer of 1943? We expect the rise of fifth column activities, in response to Hitler's dire need; but it becomes highly dangerous when the country meets it with smug complacence, born of the feeling that the danger of defeat in the war has passed, that victory has been handed to us on a silver platter by the Soviet Union.

That thought is an illusion as dangerous as the one which Chamberlain brought back with him from Munich in 1938. It is, in fact, a revival in a slightly different form of the old Munich program. If it is not scotched, and quickly, it will have results equally unfavorable for the world, and for us.

VICTORY for the United States in this war has its price, which we have not paid and which we must pay. Any effort to avoid the price of victory can end only in our own defeat and dishonor.

That price of victory is not only in dollars. It is in timely military action, in fighting, in dead and wounded, in that full effort which strains all the physical and moral resources of the nation. It is in the organization of the home front, the welding of a united people, the organization of the economy, the achievement of maximum production, the building of morale. *It is, above all, in the cementing of an unbreakable coalition of Britain, the Soviet Union, and our own country, as the indispensable heart and head of the United Nations, the*



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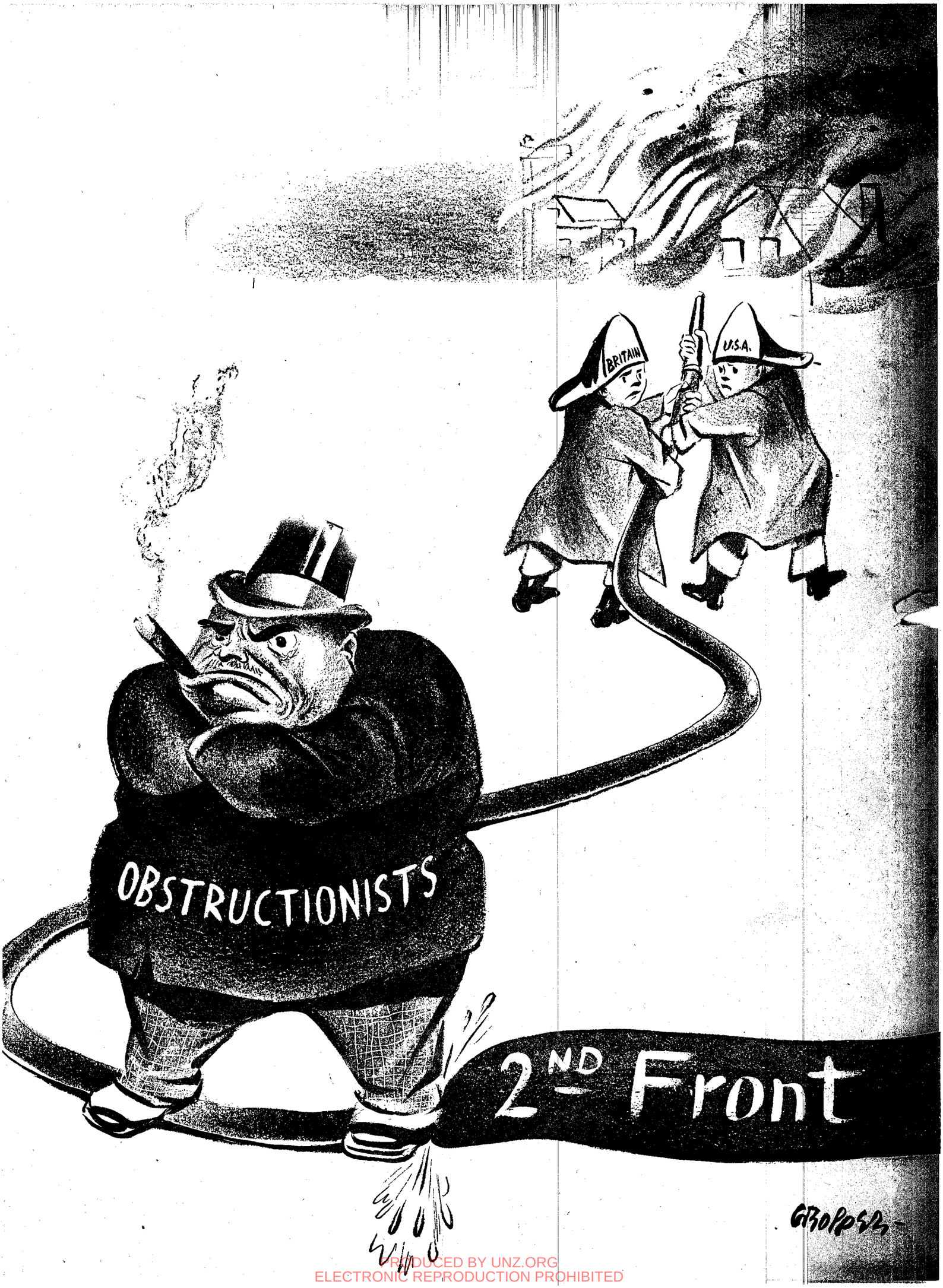


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*chief instrument for victory and an orderly postwar world.*

These things are all essential elements of the price of victory. They are the substance of policy, that policy which is necessary to victory.

On the military front, that policy is the immediate opening of the second front in Europe, on a scale to engage one-third of Hitler's forces.

On the home front, that policy is the rigorous suppression of the fifth column, the outlawing of racial incitations such as anti-Semitic and anti-Negro agitation and outbreaks, the abolition of the poll-tax and unequal treatment of Negroes and other minorities, the discouragement of factional political feuds, full planning and control of the national economy.

On the diplomatic front that policy is the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition, not as a temporary expedient, not as an accident, but as a long-term premeditated policy for the war and for the peace, the nucleus of the new world order.

The three phases of policy belong together as a single system. They cannot be developed separately, for each depends upon the other. Weakness or breakdown on any one of the three fronts, or adoption of conflicting policies, results in the weakening or even the cancellation of the whole system of policy. The over-all policy, bringing the life of the entire nation into harmony with its requirements, is the main element in the price of victory.

If the United States is seriously determined upon victory, it must learn to pay this price.

WHAT are the obstacles holding back the realization of such policies?

The chief obstacle is prejudice against and fear of the Soviet Union, a fear which during the past ten years, under the guiding hand of Herr Goebbels from Berlin, had been transferred into a fanatical cult all over the world, above all in the United States.

Hitler's *Antikomintern*, extending from the German-Italian-Japanese alliance to its organized branches in the ruling-class of each country (Cong. Hamilton Fish, Jr. organized the first one in the United States), to commanding positions in the Social-Democratic parties, to the Trotskyite groupings and organizations everywhere, to the *new profession* of anti-Soviet writing—this *Antikomintern*, a marvel of German technique and thoroughness, continues to operate within the United States as the chief obstacle to realization of the policy for victory. Its method is the cultivation of hostility to and fear of the Soviet Union, to prevent or to weaken any joint effort with that country by the United States, and to divide the United States itself on the issue of "Communism" and "anti-Communism" and every possible divisive issue, especially anti-Semitism and anti-Negro cults. Even today, after the United States has been allied with the Soviet Union for two years and officially at war with the Axis for a year and a half, the *Antikomintern* still operates freely in the United States.

It was a war action of major world significance in the United States when the leadership of the Communist International, the world association of Communist Parties, proposed to its affiliated parties on May 22, 1943, to dissolve that organization in the interests of unity among the anti-Axis countries and in the interests of national unity within each of the Allied lands.

The dissolution of the Communist International, finalized on June 10, was a move to strike from Hitler's hands the weapon of the *Antikomintern*. It was a move to make it easier for the leaders of the United States, among other countries, to overcome the effects of Hitler's work on the American mind, in order to unite more closely with the Communist-led Soviet Union on an international scale, and to deal with Communists on a national scale on the same basis as Republicans, Democrats, or other party affiliates. It was an action to help the United States accumulate the moral strength to break new paths of policy necessary for victory in the war. It was a contribution to the rise of a new form of international solidarity in the United Nations.

ALLIANCE between the United States and the Soviet Union, for the war and for the postwar period, has a solid support among the people of our country. Several public opinion surveys have recently agreed that this support embraces more than eighty percent of the population. This tide of public opinion is so strong that even the professional anti-Soviet propagandists find it necessary to preface their most vicious broadsides, deliberately calculated to weaken or break the alliance, with protestations of a desire to "cooperate" with the Soviet Union "more effectively"; this is illustrated by Max Eastman's subversive effort in the July issue of *Reader's Digest*. The American people in their overwhelming majority support the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition.

It cannot be said, however, that this coalition has been consolidated with any finality as yet. The achievement of this is still "unfinished business." First of all, the second front in Western Europe is still to be opened, and without an effective second front there is no serious coalition. If the second front should be delayed beyond 1943, then all estimates of the price of victory must be sharply increased. This will be especially true of the price in blood and treasure. It is with lives and dollars that America is forced to bridge its gaps in policy.

FAR more difficult, however, are the problems of consolidating the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition, after the elementary step of opening the second front, for the joint solution of the further problems of the war and for an orderly postwar world.

We must begin now to unfold and to understand all the consequences of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition, and of the victory that will close the war. We must recognize in advance, we must *foresee*, the necessities that flow out of this war and the new relationships into which America is entering. We must chart a stable United States policy, which will hold good over a long period, which will not be an issue to be changed every few months or even every four years with a new President; we must change the American role in the international field from that of enigma to that of stabilizer.

Our nation's part in the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition is the key question upon which depend all others. This role will be an issue in the 1944 elections. It must be settled positively and in such an emphatic fashion that no considerable faction or party will wish to raise it again as a controversial issue. That also is a requirement which is a part of the price of victory. No nation which is unsure and vacillating in its basic policy can win or hold victory in this dangerous world.

It is to the consideration of the character and consequences of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition, and of all other problems in the light of this central one, that our political thinking must be dedicated. It will be necessary to come into head-on collision with all preconceptions and prejudices which obstruct the fullest realization of this coalition. The struggle against these remnants of an unhappy past will be the chief content of the 1944 presidential election campaign. The clear and correct outcome of this struggle is a part of the price of victory.

EARL BROWDER.


**Next Week!**

NEW MASSES will publish, in the issue after this, a chapter from the forthcoming novel,

"THEY FOUGHT FOR THEIR COUNTRY"

by

***Mikhail Sholokhov***

This excerpt from a new work by the author of the famous "Don" epic appears for the first time in America in the pages of NEW MASSES.




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# STREETS OF MEXICO CITY

***The history of the Mexican people's struggle for liberty and progress is written in the place names of their capital city. Theodore Balk tells the story.***

*Mexico City.*

OFTEN during my ocean voyage to America I thought of the Rue de la Republique in Marseille. The last time I rode down that street to board my ship, nothing unusual happened. I didn't even think of the houses on it. I thought of something that was no longer there: the street names. Bright, gaping patches on the sides of the buildings showed that the Rue de la Republique no longer existed. The Republic was no more.

And from the very first day of my stay in Mexico City, the new world city which took me in, I was impressed by the street names. Two of the longest and finest thoroughfares in the city are called Avenue of the Insurgents and Promenade of the Reform. These names speak for themselves. Others intrigue the newcomer by their distinctiveness, as for example, Street of Article 123. One is even called Street of the House of the Worker of the World.

The period of the *Conquista* has been all but effaced from the roster of the city's street names. Hernan Cortez, the conqueror, appears only anonymously on a bas-relief at the base of the Cuauhtemoc Monument. There you see him directing the torturers who are burning the feet of the last Aztec king. Cortez sought to make him talk, but Cuauhtemoc was silent. His silence was golden, the gold of the hidden treasures of the Aztecs.

The name of Alvarado has come down from that period. Today the Alvarado Bridge is busy all day until late at night. Yellow streetcars and busses of all shades cross it constantly, clanging their bells and sounding their horns. On the night Cortez fled besieged Mexico City, this artery of traffic was a hinderance to movement. It was a wall pierced by many canals. Cortez had taken collapsible bridges with him, but the Aztec guards were vigilant and attacked his retreating army from their swift boats. The rear guard was commanded by Pedro de Alvarado. He had lost his horse and his men. On foot, covered with slime and bleeding from many wounds, he had reached the third canal. But how cross to the other side? Legend has it that he clung to his lance as he swam over the deep water. In all probability it was a floating beam that saved him fram death on that night which has entered Mexican history as the "*noche triste*."

Three hundred years of alien Spanish rule left very few traces among the city's street names. Apart from Her Catholic Majesty, Queen Isabella, who sent Columbus on his way to find a western passage to the Indies, none of the streets bears the name of a Spanish monarch. And of the sixty-two viceroys who ruled over New Spain, only two are recalled in Mexico City. They are the two who introduced street lighting and paved roads: Bucareli and Count de Revillagigedo. Today Bucareli Street is crowded at noon and in the evening with swarms of barefooted and ragged-looking urchins, who rush away twice daily in every direction bearing bundles of newspapers under their arms. Then they offer the latest news for five centavos a paper. Bucareli Street has become the Fleet Street of Mexico.

One of the streets north of Alameda Square quickens with life by night. It is a street of cheap one-night hotels, dance-halls and marijuana peddlers, and bears the name of *El Pensador Mexicano* (The Mexican Thinker). That was the name of a weekly magazine, and I doubt whether there is another street in the world named after a magazine. *El Pensador Mexicano* was a revolutionary periodical edited by Fernandez de Lizardi, a man of great intellect and courage. In 1712 when the first number of the magazine appeared, the Spaniards in Cadiz had adopted a liberal constitution. But Mexico was far from Spain, and here the Viceroy and the Inquisition still ruled. Lizardi is, so to speak, the Encyclopedist of Mexico. Like Voltaire, he wrote satirical society novels, the most significant of which is *El Periquillo Sarniento* ("The Itching Parrot").

Avenue of the Insurgents forms an important part of the Pan-American Highway as it passes through Mexico City. It is named after the men who fought in 1810 to gain Mexico's independence. But the Insurgents have not only been honored collectively; individuals have also been commemorated. Father Hidalgo has a main thoroughfare on which the Central Post Office and Palace of Fine Arts are located. The tiny village of Dolores in which he was active has a Dolores Street where one now finds Chinese restaurants and cafes with brilliantly colored posters of Chiang Kai-shek on the walls and highly seasoned chop suey on the tables. Nor have the City Fathers forgotten the day on which Hidalgo gave the signal for the uprising—the Avenue of the Sixteenth of September is a business street in the heart of the city where paper and writing supplies are sold.

Morelos, likewise a village priest, who became leader of the Insurgents after Hidalgo's execution and later generalissimo and chairman of the Constituent Assembly, has his avenue too. So have Allende, Aldama, Galdeana, Matamoros, Bravo, a- Guerrero, the generals of the Insurge Some of them fell in battle, most of lost their lives before a firing squad. priests were declared apostates and by the Tribunal of the Inquisiti

(*Continued on page* 18)

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# MEXICAN LITHOGRAPHS

The lithographs on these two pages (and the one on page 15) are from Mexico's outstanding artists, who sent them to NEW MASSES to be reproduced in these pages or sold at an art auction if there were such an auction planned in the near future. The artists are members of the "Taller de Grafico Popular" (The Workshop of Popular Graphic Arts), a group working collectively which devotes its art to the furtherance of progressive and anti-fascist causes.

Leopoldo Mendez

Alfredo Zalce

Ignacio Aguirre

Pablo O'Higgins

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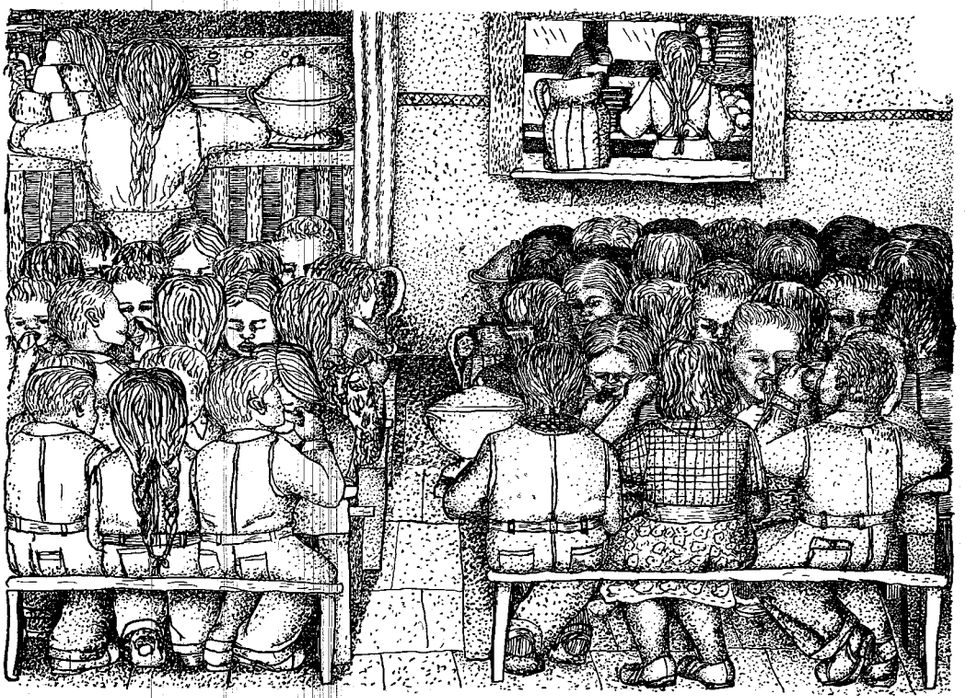
Leopoldo Mendez

Eduardo Ram



Pancho Mora

Alfredo Zalce

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(*Continued from page 15*)

handed over to the civil courts. In the twelve articles of indictment against Hidalgo, the Inquisition accuses him of being a Lutheran, a denier of the existence of Hell, an atheist, a believer in popular sovereignty, and a friend of the Jews. The last-named accusation was a stock-in-trade of bigots then as now.

THE Dominican Palace, where the Tribunal of the Inquisition sat, is today the dissecting room and laboratories of the Medical School. Then it housed living beings who were tortured with tongs, pincers, scalpels, and knives; now it houses corpses preserved in formaldehyde. The name of the square has been forgotten—Plaza del Santo Domingo—as well as the name of the side-street, *Calle de la Perpetua*, Street of Eternal Prison.

In those years Mexico City had 400 monasteries and so many churches that, as Father Mendietta wrote, "it would be difficult for me or anyone else to count them." The Church owned more than half of the city. Monasteries blocked every street entrance. Church property was expropriated in the Reform movement of the fties and sixties in the nineteenth century. he walls were torn down and streets cut ough. For quite a time fanatical Catho- avoided walking on the new "hereti- streets, Calle Gante and Avenue of Sixteenth of September.

Thus the Reform helped build up Mexico City although the boulevard which takes its name, *Paseo de la Reforma*, was named after the man who attempted a second version of the *Conquista* and who failed ignominiously: Emperor Maximilian. *Paseo de la Reforma* was the expression in stone of a harassed alien monarch's dream. From his bedchamber high up in Chapultepec Castle he could peer into the very entrails of the city. This was rather important for a foreign usurper like Maximilian, particularly at night when Mexicans met to plot against him.

*Paseo de la Reforma*—a kind of *Champs Elysees* and *Siegesallee* combined—is longer than the first and in better taste than the second. For the Reform in Mexico did not bear the same stamp as the Reformation movement in Europe. The Mexican Reform was a bloody affair. It was led by Benito Juarez, the first full-blooded Indian president. (Avenida Juarez consists of curio shops, movies, cafes, and bright neon lights). On May 5, 1862, the soldiers of Napoleon III went through a tragic night which was followed by many more tragic nights. (Avenue of the Fifth of May is a downtown business street.)

THE Avenue of Heroic Children—*Avenida de los Ninos Heroes*—recalls an incident which occurred in Chapultepec Castle, another episode in the foreign invasion. This avenue lies in a busy section of workshops and small factories and extends as far as the general hospital. Funeral parlors crowd, like vultures, close to the hospital. The Heroic Children were the cadets who lost their lives remaining at their posts in Chapultepec Castle until their last cartridge was spent. This happened in 1846 when the Americans, under pressure from the southern slaveholders, went to war with Mexico over Texas and advanced on the capital.

Mexico is rich in streets with the word "hero" in their names: Heroes of the Intervention, railwaymen heroes of the revolution, heroes of the proletariat, anonymous heroes. In the street guide I counted seventeen with this epithet.

But the forty years following the Reform go unmentioned. The dictator of that period, Don Porfirio Diaz, has no street named after him. But some of his victims, the 200 textile workers of Rio Blanco and their families shot down by local gendarmes, have a suburb on the outskirts of the city: *Colonia Martires del Rio Blanco*.

The significance of street names is nothing formal or purely external. A regime that is tolerant of tyrants, even in its street names, is ready to make all sorts of compromises with the past. Think of Friedrichstrasse and Wilhelmstrasse in Berlin, which the republican city fathers refused to change in 1918 when they took office.

Avenida Madero illustrates the most recent phase of Mexico's development, the period in which we are still living, the Revolution. It is the street of luxury goods, of American cigarettes and magazines. It stands in the same relationship to Emiliano Zapata Street as the well-dressed scion of a landowning family, the formal political democrat Francisco I. Madero, stood to the small *ranchero* and agrarian revolutionary, Emiliano Zapata. The first demanded "freedom"—the second "land and freedom." And both lost their lives through betrayal.

The 1910 Revolution gave birth to two streets: Article 123 and Ejido. The first reeks with the smell of gasoline and is traversed by innumerable buses in the center of the city. The other leads from the Monument of the Revolution to the Caballito, the equestrian statue of Charles IV, which has preserved for posterity the talent of a sculptor rather than the title of a king.

Article 123 is an important article. It runs to 2,000 words and is part of the 1917 constitution. The eight-hour day, abolition of child labor, minimum wages, workers' houses, employers' responsibility for accidents and illnesses suffered on the job, the right to organize in free trade unions, and the right to strike—all these in a country which had previously known extreme exploitation, forced labor, a twelve- and fourteen-hour working day.

This is the place to mention another street on the outskirts of the city, which still contains a number of gardens and small farms, *Calle de la Casa del Obrero Mundial*. The House of the Worker of the World was founded in 1912 by anarcho-syndicalist workers and intellectuals; and although it was a gathering place for a good many confused souls, it brought together those elements which later formed a much more effective organization. The three decades following its foundation saw the rise and fall of the Mexican workers. Its founder, Luis Morones, became fat and a millionaire. But one of his assistants, a young philosophy student and one of the "seven wise men" of the University, remained thin and founded the CTM (Confederation of Mexican Workers), the most important trade union movement in Latin America. His name is Vicente Lombardo Toledano.

What Article 123 means to Mexican workers, the *ejido* means to the peasants of Mexico. *Ejido* is the old common land which Porfirio Diaz stole from the Indians for the benefit of the landlords and profiteers, and which the Revolution returned to them. At first only hesitantly and in small plots. Then in 1934 Lazaro Cardenas was inaugurated president. Within two years the amount of land expropriated from the landlords rose from 1,788,000 to 2,500,000 hectares.

MANY street names of the past remain today only as names of firms. Thus, the *Farmacia del Indio Triste* (Pharmacy of the Sad Indian) was once the Street of the Sad Indian, today *Calle Carmen* and *Correo Mayor*. According to legend, in the middle of the sixteenth century a sad Indian nobleman used to sit, petrified with sorrow, on a corner right before the palace in which Montezuma was slain by Cortez. This sad Indian had everything he needed for a comfortable life: houses, wives, fields, cattle, and jewelry. He lacked only one thing: a clear conscience. The viceroy had allowed him to retain his property on one condition: that he would reveal the plans and intentions of his Aztec countrymen. The *Indio Triste* lived in constant fear of the vengeance of his tribal gods and of the punishment awaiting him in the Hell of the new Catholic gods—for he was a conscience-smitten renegade. Brooding and drinking *pulque* had made him so dull and listless that he forgot his duties and neglected to inform the viceroy of a plot. Thereupon he was stripped of everything he owned. After his death—he died a starving, heart-broken pauper—the viceroy had his face sculptured in stone and placed the statue on the corner where during his lifetime he had squatted with his arms folded, his eyes watery, and a parched tongue. The *Indio Triste* stood as a warning to all careless informers.

THEODORE BALK.



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# ZERO HOUR IN GREECE

***Already at guerrilla war with the Nazis, their National Liberation Front will welcome an Allied invasion that will free their country. Our chance to cooperate with a democratic people.***

At this writing the forthcoming invasion of Greece proper seems to have been set into motion from the southeast corner of the Aegean Sea. The islands of Leros, Cos, and Samos have been occupied, and reports indicate that there is an internal struggle between Italians and Germans on the Island of Rhodes. Of the three occupied islands, Samos does not belong to the Dodecanese group; it was part of Greece before the Germans and Italians invaded it.

Of course, Crete, still occupied by the Nazis, is now claiming the attention of Greeks everywhere, not only as a strategic base in the eastern Mediterranean, but also as the first substantial Greek territory on which serious political events will begin to take shape. Crete was the last stepping stone for the flight of King George and his government-in-exile, and unless Allied troops invade some continental part of Greece first, Crete may be the first Greek territory on which a Greek government, or *the* Greek government, may be established.

Indeed, the Greek government-in-exile is *a* government, not *the* government that can claim control over Greece. When King George left Crete two years ago, a Cretan general, Mantakas, started a guerrilla movement now numbering 12,000 to 15,000 fighters. Mantakas is a well known anti-royalist who refused to meet King George on the island when the latter passed through it on the way to Egypt. Since then, there is no report that the general has changed his attitude.

Thus, in Crete, the Allied military and political leadership will confront a situation quite different from the one faced in Italy. General Mantakas will assist the Allies in their operations and will readily accept their military leadership, but he may not accept King George's rule. In fact, the Allies will meet, for the first time, a united people prepared and ready to apply the principles of self-determination. There is every reason to believe that eighty percent of the people of Greece are already under the control of a National Liberation Front and its military organ, the National People's Liberation Army.

This organization was born of the very ruins of Greece, at a time when German power was at its zenith and the Allied countries at their nadir, when Greece was under the spell of a moral and physical depression, and the idea of German invincibility was supreme. The King had fled the country with a new government which was as alien to the people as the Metaxas government. The remnants of the King's party in Greece joined the Nazis and immediately began to spread the gospel of defeatism.

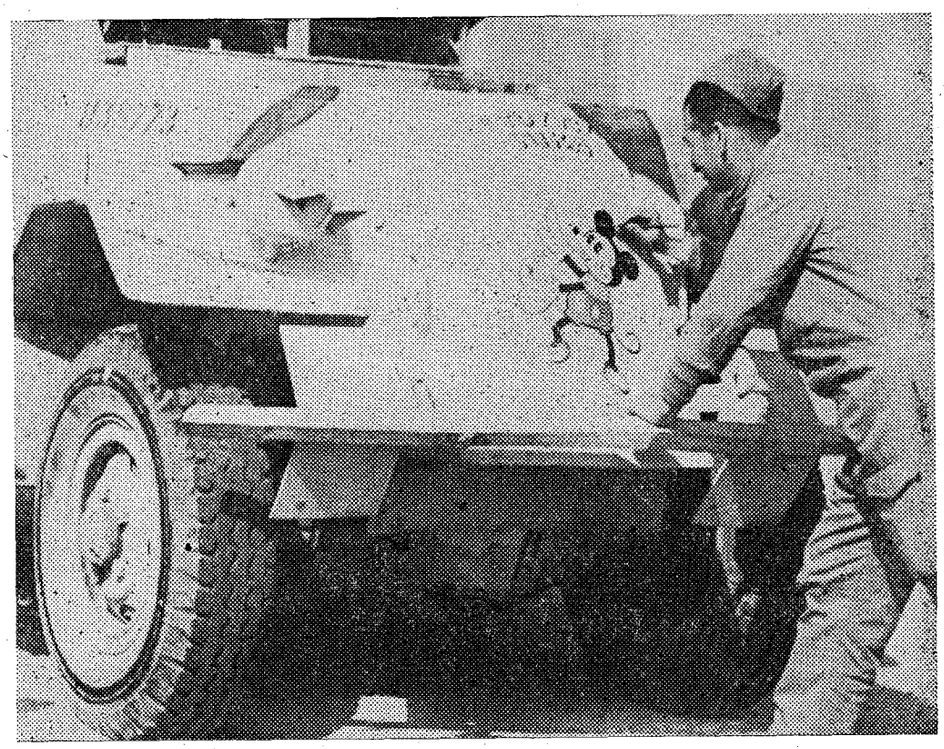
Yet, within a year a new life dawned out of the darkness of Nazism. The National Liberation Front, known as the EAM, was the nucleus of that life. Only in the cities and in the railroad hubs does control remain in the hands of the Nazis. And a fraternalization between the Italians and the Greeks, which began long before the fall of Mussolini, is now being transformed into full armed cooperation.

The outside world does not hear much about the Greek EAM, because it is being blacked out in the same manner and for the same reasons that the Partisans of Yugoslavia have been blacked out. It must be noted that the EAM is composed of all political anti-fascist creeds—democrats, socialists, liberals, and Communists. The Metropolitan of Kozani, Joachim, is one of the leaders in the EAM organization. The EAM has operated in Greek cities under the very noses of the Nazis. While the guerrillas, with ever-increasing methodicalness act secretly against Axis garrisons and supply lines, the workers and the people in general use the strike weapon openly.

According to reliable reports, five big strikes have taken place within the last seventeen months: the first on April 14, 1942, in Athens, Pireus, Patra, and Salonika against the Nazi attempt to crush the people's morale through starvation; the second on September 11, 1942, in Athens, against impossibly low standards of living and against the black-marketeers; the third, last March, against forcible mobilization of labor; the fourth, last June, against the assassination of hostages. The last one took place sometime at the end of July.

In each case, workers, state employees, and students, along with others, proceeded on a well planned, well organized, and intelligently conducted general strike. And in each case the occupationist authorities were decisively defeated. We do not know many details about the last strike, but we do know that the strike of June 25, 1943, was general not only in its full support by all classes, but also in the fact that it spread all over the country. These are great events in the whole European people's struggle against the Axis and in the annals of popular initiative.

What are the repercussions of these developments on the Greek government-in-exile? It will be recalled that on July 4 the Greek King made a statement to the effect that he would return to Greece



**This tank, being decorated by a Greek soldier, belongs to his country's tank unit which fought with the British Eighth Army in Africa. The name of the tank is "In This You Win," which is an old war slogan.**



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as soon as a part of it had been liberated; that within six months, he would proclaim elections for a constituent assembly, empowered with the right to change the regime—which means that the assembly might abolish the monarchy if it so desired. According to recent information, this decision of the King, endorsed on the following day by the cabinet, was taken with the implied reservation that it was subject to the approval of the EAM. However, before anything was heard from Greece, according to certain reports believed to be reliable, some serious and violent incidents took place within the Greek armed forces in the Middle East, with British authorities intervening to quiet them.

The EAM's attitude towards the King's proposition is already known. The EAM has repeatedly stated that one of the fundamental points of its own program is the conduct of national elections for a constituent assembly under its own supervision. However, there is circumstantial evidence that the National Liberation Front does not approve the return of the King under any conditions. The main circumstantial proof that the National Liberation Front does not approve the King's plan is that the government-in-exile keeps mum on the matter of approval or disapproval. If the news from Greece were favorable, the government in Cairo would have heralded the good tidings.

IT MUST be noted here that the question of whether Greece will have a constitutional monarchy or a republic—or, as it is usually expressed, whether Greece will have a crowned or uncrowned republic—is only part of the issue over the future regime. Some royalist elements of the National Liberation Front—a minority—believing in constitutional government, have joined the conservative republican elements in a campaign to prevent the return of King George until the people, through a constituent assembly or a plebiscite, decide on the form of government they desire.

These conservative constitutionalists, both royalists and republicans, had decided months ago to send a representative of their own directly from Greece to contact both the Greek government and the Allied governments and to convey to them the practical thing to do "to prevent a sharp political crisis beyond the mere issue of choosing between constitutional monarchy or a republican form of government."

It must be observed here that the majority of the Greek people desire a popular form of democracy which will ensure for them political and economic freedom, improved labor standards, economic readjustments and social security in the true sense of the words.

In any case, that representative of the conservative elements, Mr. Exintaris, has recently arrived in Egypt. He left Greece, presumably after the King's statement had become known. It is not known as yet what his exact mission is now, whether it is the same as originally decided last year or whether it has been modified. According to some reports reaching this country, a new crisis broke out within the Greek government-in-exile. The Greek Army of the Middle East is under the influence of an anti-fascist military organization that has close connection with the EAM. The best guess is that some of the cabinet members agree with Mr. Exintaris that the King should not return to Greece before a plebiscite, and they may resign if the King does not revise his statement of July and conform to the will of the leaders in Greece.

It must also be noted here that it is not quite certain that King George is anxious to return to Greece. Perhaps he would prefer to resign but for the insistence of certain outside interests that he adhere to his July statement. In the belief of many, the political situation in Greece and within the government-in-exile is so critical that the King may decide to stay in Egypt and wait for the decision of the people rather than just go to Greece under the protection of foreign bayonets.

IT WOULD not be correct to say that it is the official policy of Great Britain to keep King George on the throne in the face of such opposition. Such a conclusion would be an unjustified underestimation of the usually realistic British diplomacy. My own opinion is that the British government is still waiting for more facts on which to base a definite policy, and that there is a struggle going on within British governing circles on all Balkan issues, which are correlated with deeper eastern European issues. There may also be differences between the British Foreign Office and the American State Department.

While I am on this subject, let me point out that the conservative elements in England, the traditionalists in British political thought and diplomacy, continue to entertain the obsolete and deceptive idea that the political struggle in Greece still revolves around issues between the Venizelists and royalists. They are inclined to forget that the original issue between Venizelos and King Constantine—the former representing one imperialist point of view, the English, and the latter representing another, the German—died long ago. Today, King George is identified with the British point of view, although, perhaps, with only a section of the British governing circles, while some of the Venizelists have developed distinct sympathies towards America.

In this connection it is worth quoting from the July 17 issue of *Great Britain and the East*, a Tory periodical published in London. I cite the following paragraphs as characteristic of the thought of British traditionalism: "Greece still suffers, though fortunately in a diminishing degree, from the disastrous rift that split the nation into royalist and Venizelist. The restoration of the monarchy proved of itself insufficient to heal the old wounds and the firm hand of the Metaxas regime seemed to be necessary to give the people, under the measure of compulsion involved, time to allow the dead past to bury its dead."

And in another paragraph: "The most ardent republican, however, will be hard put to it to discover in Greece, with her actual experience, or in any of the Balkan countries, the least aptitude for making a success of republicanism."

I quote these paragraphs only to show how right the Greek conservatives were when they thought that a special mission to England was needed, not to enlighten Mr. Churchill and his progressive cabinet members, such as Mr. Eden, Sir Stafford Cripps, and others, but those elements of the ruling class whose morbid minds are still lingering in the rust and must of the dead past of the Victorian and even the Georgian era.

And finally I should like to point out that the people of Greece, through their National Liberation Front, which remains united despite attempts to split it, are ready to cooperate with the Allied armies under any circumstances for the liberation of Greece and the defeat of the Axis. The Greeks have proved in the last two years that they have a strong will. And they have also proved that where there is a will there is a way—a way of persuading our Allies that they need not attempt to build on the quicksands of obsolete premises and that it is in the interest of the cause of the United Nations to build on the rock of the popular will, not only in Greece but in Yugoslavia and other countries. This is the way of making "the right of self-determination once more a living reality"—to use the President's words.

DEMETRIOS CHRISTOPHORIDES.



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# WHO'S TO BLAME FOR INFLATION?

***Not labor, whose real wages have failed to keep up with the ascending cost of living. The role played by higher profits and the gaps in price control.***

LABOR has been repeatedly charged with primary responsibility for the twenty-five percent inflation which has occurred since the war began. The claim that labor has used this war to improve its economic position relative to other groups has been made constantly. It has been argued that labor has received an increasing share of an ever-decreasing supply of consumer goods and services. These arguments have been supported by an appeal to statistics, but like the drunkard with the lamp post, labor's attackers have used these statistics for the support that they give rather than for the light that they shed.

Is labor responsible for the price increases that have occurred since 1939?

To answer this question requires an examination of what has happened to wage costs per unit of production. As everyone knows, production has multiplied prodigiously since the outbreak of the war. Gross national output increased seventy-one percent, from $88.6 billion in 1939 to $151.6 billion in 1942. What happened to the labor cost of producing this output?

Unfortunately, income figures for wage earners alone are not available. Salaries are bulked with wages. Therefore, although it is impossible to compute just the wage cost, the salary-and-wage cost, as estimated by the OPA, is close enough for our purposes. It rose from forty-eight cents per unit of output in 1939 to fifty-seven cents in 1942. This nine cents increase in labor cost per unit might be expected to be reflected in general prices. However, two-thirds of the nine cents was offset by a decline in overhead as output increased and spread these fixed charges over a larger number of units. *Prices should have gone up no more than three cents per unit. Actually, they rose, on the average, by 15.8 cents.* What accounts for the inflationary addition of 12.8 cents?

The answer is: increased profits. Profits per unit of incorporated and unincorporated business rose by almost thirteen cents. Here is the explanation for the price inflation, so frequently attributed to high wages. Increased wage costs by no means explain, nor are they primarily responsible for, the high increase in our prices.

How does the rise in the price of labor compare with the rise in other prices?

It has been accepted as a national policy that the prices the farmer receives shall bear a fair relationship to the prices of the goods he buys. This principle has been incorporated into the Emergency Price Control Act, which prohibits the OPA from freezing prices on any farm products before they have reached parity. It is no less appropriate that the price for labor received by the worker bears a proper relationship to the prices of the goods that he buys. This principle, too, has been accepted as national policy. It is embodied in the Little Steel formula, adopted by the War Labor Board in July 1942. Between January 1, 1941 and May 1942 the cost of living rose approximately fifteen percent. When the President announced his seven-point anti-inflation program, directing that the cost of living be stabilized at May 1942 levels, the War Labor Board adopted the Little Steel formula which limits wage rate increases to fifteen percent above the January 1, 1941 levels. This principle was reaffirmed by Congress in the Stabilization Act of October 1942, which directed that both prices and wages be stabilized as of the levels prevailing in September 1942.

How do the changes in wages compare with changes in the cost of living?

Unfortunately, the Bureau of Labor Statistics does not publish adequate data on the movements in wage rates. The BLS

**"I wouldn't mind inflation, but it's the higher prices that worry me."**



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measure most nearly approximating the price of labor is that of average hourly earnings. The increases in average hourly earnings, however, are considerably greater than the increases in basic wage rates. The changes in hourly earnings include the effects of increased overtime pay, incentive payments, the increase in skills, and the shift from low-paid industries to the higher paid war industries. Actual increases in straight time basic wage rates account for no more and probably less than half of the reported increases in average hourly earnings. With this important factor in mind, let us see how the changes in average hourly earnings compare with those in the cost of living.

Between August 1939 and April 1943 average hourly earnings for all employees outside agricultural occupations rose twenty-nine percent. The increase in the Bureau of Labor Statistics cost of living index was 25.9 percent over the same period. In real terms of goods and services the increase in average hourly earnings amounted to only 2.7 percent. In spite of overtime pay, in spite of the shift from low-paid non-war industries to high-paid war industries, in spite of new skills won by millions of workers by study and hard work, real average hourly earnings have increased hardly at all over the pre-war level.

And this is not the whole truth. It is a well known fact that the BLS index does not reveal the full increase in cost of living since 1939. It does not reflect all price violations, for example. The OPA has admitted that prices would be reduced by five percent if all price regulations were enforced. Insofar as these violations are only partially caught by the Bureau, the index underestimates the cost of living.

IN ADDITION to illegal price mark-ups, prices have been indirectly increased through quality deterioration, upgrading of goods, elimination of bargain sales, and a myriad of devices which are not and cannot be reflected in the index. Taking all of these factors into account, it is certain that the BLS index understates the true rise in the cost of living by a considerable amount —probably as much as ten percent. Allowing for all this, there is no possible doubt that real average hourly earnings have not increased at all during the war. On the contrary, they must have fallen by five or more percent.

The figures just cited are of course averages for all non-farm workers. As such, they conceal very large differences between groups of workers. In the war industries, for example, the workers have improved their real earnings by more than ten percent, even after full allowance is made for the defects in the cost of living index. The position of non-manufacturing workers, however, has definitely deteriorated. As a whole, their real average hourly earnings in April 1943 were seven percent below August 1939, on the basis of the *uncorrected* BLS index. This cut runs as high as sixteen percent for government workers—firemen, clerks, teachers, postmen. A corrected index would reveal still more striking losses. In the light of these facts the statement that labor is profiting out of the war is a shocking travesty on the truth.

So much for the entire war period. It is in point to inquire now how labor has fared during the period of the Little Steel formula.

BETWEEN January 1941 and April 1943 real average hourly earnings fell by one percent even on the basis of the uncorrected Bureau cost of living index. Money hourly earnings for all non-farm workers rose twenty-two percent. The cost of living index rose twenty-three percent. Adjusted for hidden inflation, the index would show a decline in real average hourly earnings—with which to buy food, shelter, and clothing—of nearer ten percent.

In this case, too, the average figure conceals the improvement in the position of some workers and the serious impairment of the position of others. In the war industries, for example, average hourly money earnings rose 37.5 percent. Workers enjoyed an unmistakable net real gain. In non-manufacturing, on the other hand, money earnings were up about eleven percent, real earnings down by at least nine but probably nearer twenty percent. Government workers again suffered disproportionately and heavily. The two years of the Little Steel formula have not raised workers' real hourly earnings.

A third comparison is worth making for the period between September 1942 and March 1943. For it was to September 1942 that Congress and President Roosevelt referred in their promise to stabilize wages and cost of living.

Between these dates, average hourly earnings rose 3.9 percent, cost of living jumped 4.2 percent (the uncorrected index) and real hourly rates went down. So much is clear for all to see. The price of labor has definitely not outstripped the rise in the price of the goods workers buy. Hourly earnings on the average have not got out of line with cost of living changes. Rather the reverse has happened for each of the three periods examined.

It is frequently argued that workers' "take home" has increased, that weekly envelopes are fatter, annual incomes larger, and that therefore labor is gaining from the war. This is an important question in itself. But before taking it up, let it be emphasized that weekly or annual incomes have nothing to do with the question discussed above. The President's stabilization program tied wage rates, not weekly earnings, to prices. We have seen that wage rates have not, on the average, kept pace with prices. This accounts for the profound dissatisfaction with the government's price control failures on the part of the CIO, and its relentless effort to secure price control, cost of living roll backs, or, if necessary, wage rate increases to make good the government's promises to American wage earners.

But what of the accusation that labor incomes have increased greatly and disproportionately as compared with the incomes of other groups in the nation?

Admittedly, hourly earnings do not tell the whole story. Because of the increase in hours worked per week, weekly earnings have risen more than hourly earnings. Weekly money earnings were forty-three percent greater on the average in April 1943 than in August 1939; real weekly earnings were fourteen percent greater. To the extent that this increase is due to an increase in hours worked, it represents simply extra payment for extra effort. No one can fairly challenge the propriety of this. No one has argued that farmers should receive (for their larger 1943 output) the same income as they received for their smaller output in 1939. No one has urged that businessmen should receive the same aggregate profits for the 1943 output as they did for their smaller output of 1939. More wages for more work is the same principle applied to labor.

HOW does the increase in labor income compare with the increase in income of other economic groups?

The relevant data are available only on an annual basis. According to the Department of Commerce total salaries and wages of civilian employees rose seventy-four percent, from 48.1 billion in 1939 to 83.7 billion in 1942. This fact is pounced upon by labor's accusers, as evidence of labor's profiteering. This increase, however, is clearly not out of line with that enjoyed by any other economic group. Corporate profits increased eighty-one percent. Income of farm owners rose 125 percent. Net rents and royalties—a relatively fixed type of income—rose thirty-four percent. (The corporate income is *after taxes*, all others before taxes.)

These figures belie the accusation against labor. But the comparison is not fair as it stands. The number of income earners other than workers has remained relatively stable over this period. Consequently, the percentage increase in corporate profits, for example, represents the probable gain per shareholder. This is not true in the case of employees. The number of non-agricultural workers increased greatly between 1939 and 1942. Millions, previously unemployed, got jobs. The increased wages were paid to many more men and women. Allowing for this, the average increase per wage earner in all non-agricultural industries, is probably less than half the seventy-four percent increase in total wages and



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salaries. The OPA estimates it at thirty-three percent. This increase per worker is smaller than that for the recipients of any other income share except interest. It is considerably less than half the percentage increase in profits *after taxes* and no more than a fourth of the increase in average farm income. The argument that labor has increased its income enormously at the expense of other income groups in the course of this war is patently false.

Has labor reduced the living standards of the rest of the population?

Despite the enormous increase in output of war goods, the physical volume of consumer goods and services increased by thirteen percent between 1939 and 1942. Average weekly earnings in all non-agricultural establishments between August 1939 and April 1943 rose forty-three percent in money terms and fourteen percent in real terms. This means, of course, that the average workers' command over goods and services has increased during the war. Does this mean, however, that labor has forced a reduction in the standard of living of other groups, a charge frequently made against labor by its opponents?

The answer to this question is definitely no.

As we have already shown, the average income per person for practically all other income groups rose by a larger percentage than did the average income per employee. The command over goods and services of the other income groups has, therefore, risen even more than of labor.

CIO News

In its editorial of May 18, 1943, the New York *Times*, basing itself on a report of the Office of Civilian Supply, states that the supply of civilian goods and services will have to be cut to two-thirds of the 1941 level. Jumping from this statement to the conclusion that the supply has in fact already been cut by this amount, it then argues that since labor has increased its command over goods and services, it has forced the rest of the population to take much more than a proportional cut in its living standards. In the words of the New York *Times*, "Industrial labor, in spite of the fact that there was a smaller pie to be shared by everybody, has not only increased its relative slice of that pie, but has increased it to such an extent that it was actually consuming more than in the pre-war period."

This argument is false in its premises, its logic and its conclusions:

First, the report of the Office of Civilian Supply referred only to the degree to which civilian output *could* be cut if it were necessary to get down to rock-bottom levels. It did not state that output would in fact be cut to these rock-bottom levels. The volume of output of consumer goods and services has in fact declined only slightly since 1941. It has actually increased by thirteen percent since 1939.

Second, it is illogical to compare the increase since August 1939 with a decrease in consumption since 1941. The same year must be used. Obviously the increase in income since 1941 has been considerably smaller than the increase since 1939. Similarly, if we use 1939 instead of 1941 as the base for measuring the change in output, we find that output has in fact not decreased, but increased by thirteen percent.

Finally, the consumption pie is different from the income pie. Even if consumption has decreased slightly since 1941, it does not follow that because labor has received a larger income that it has also increased its consumption. All groups' incomes increased, labor's least of all on a per capita basis. On the New York *Times*' method of reasoning, it would follow that every income group received a larger share of a decreasing supply of goods at the expense of every other group!

Everyone is opposed to inflation in the abstract. The difficulty has been, however, that no one opposed having his own price rise. Inflation has been interpreted to mean a rise only in the other fellow's price. Over and over again the argument has been repeated that a given product is an insignificant portion of total consumption and a rise in its price will hardly be noticeable. And so the pressures for price increases have multiplied and the price structure has given way bit by bit.

Despite the passage of the Stabilization Act of October 1942, which directed that prices be stabilized as of September 1942, the cost of living rose by 5.9 percent. The War Labor Board, however, has adhered to the Little Steel formula, refusing to grant any wage increases wherever wage rates were fifteen percent above the January 1941 level. This discrimination cannot longer be permitted. If the cost of living is to continue to increase or fail to go down, labor will insist that wages be permitted to rise accordingly. Labor is aware that nothing will be gained if prices and wages are permitted to chase each other toward the sky. There will be no other choice left, however, if the cost of living continues to rise, or fails to fall to the promised level of September 1942.

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# "GRAND CROSSING"

***Alexander Saxton's novel depicts the process by which a young middle class intellectual identifies himself with the working class. An exciting record of democratic faith.***

IN ALEXANDER SAXTON'S *Grand Crossing* (Harper, $2.50) you will find the earnest and eloquent statement of the present war generation, the young men and women in their earliest twenties who despise cynicism and whining, who reject posing and vague gestures, who are thoroughly realistic but know how to sing and dream, who in the act of affirming draw up the points of a program. At least, Saxton speaks for this side of his generation, the side on which the health and sanity of America depend. It is a privilege to greet this author on the threshold of what may well be a highly important career as a writer of the people.

Like Betty Smith's *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn* (Harper, $2.75), which the same publishers have elected to push as a sounder investment, *Grand Crossing* is strongly autobiographical. But one striking difference in their quality derives from the urgency of the remembered material in the author's consciousness. Betty Smith, who is thirty-seven and lives at Chapel Hill, looks back on her Brooklyn childhood with a nostalgia that permits her to say: "Brooklyn is not a city. It is a faith. You cannot *become* a Brooklynite. You have to be *born* one." There is no similar mood of devotional reminiscence in Alexander Saxton's novel. Not far from twenty, he writes about his experiences as a student at Harvard and Chicago University and as a worker on the New York Central Railroad not to recall a neighborhood or a family, but to register hard-won decisions about the values by which one can constructively act in the world today. The human and social problems implicit in Betty Smith's story become dissolved in a distant glow; in Saxton's novel the material is shaped toward the integration of a personality and the meaningful action that will flow from such integration. For all its vigor, pathos, and sensitivity, *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn* remains formless, bereft of a solid inner purpose, and ultimately evasive. *Grand Crossing*, by contrast, not only poses a basic human problem but stays with it until a solution is in sight.

Michael Reed, the central character of *Grand Crossing*, cannot digest the snobbishness, intellectual timidity, and anti-Semitism of the circles in which his family and classmates complacently move. Unlike the "nice," and therefore somewhat hateful, Harvard man Sherman Townsend, Michael cannot be enthusiastic about accepted things and cynical about things that it is accepted to be cynical about. That may be Harvard tradition, it is certainly the tradition of the Harvard literary crowd portrayed here, but Michael is restless in it. He cannot look forward eagerly to stopping at the club for a martini after work behind a mahogany desk. And he breaks with Harvard to go to the University of Chicago, where the Negro medical student and Communist, William Christmas, and the Jewish philosophy student, Ben Baum, represent a new life outside the barred windows. Michael had "set his foot outside the house and poked his head outside and looked at the land with the wind blowing across it, and mountains in the distance. . . ."

But he had also "held his hand on the knob so the lock would not click shut behind him." That knob, that basic attachment to the conservative middle class way, the coming-out parties, the ritual drinking, the fraternities, the New Deal-baiting, is the standing offer of Michael's uncle, Arch Wallace, of a big job on his Washington businessman's newsletter. To reject that job is not merely to change colleges, but to change class allegiances, to throw over for good the Sherman Townsends and to embrace William Christmas. It is to trade a mahogany desk for a job as switchman on the grand crossing, the junction of railway lines on Chicago's outskirts; but more than that it is to choose a new direction on the grand crossing of contemporary society.

THIS is not a conversion novel in which decisions are all the more brittle because they are made dramatically and at the last moment; it is a novel of process. In the process by which this young middle class intellectual identifies himself with the working class, there are complex stages. There is struggle, debate, anguish. But because the issues are terribly serious, there is no room here for declamation or melodrama or endless soul-twisting. *Grand Crossing* is a firmly restrained novel, rich in overtone; it is never over-zealous or shrill; its most striking quality is an intense sincerity and integrity that one misses in so many far more experienced but essentially world-weary novelists.

While the focus is on Michael Reed, the other characters emerge as powerful shaping forces on his mind. William Christmas, for instance, is one of the most interesting Negro figures in recent fiction by a white author. He is a person of great dignity and self-discipline; the moral passion, the deep need to help his people, which had earlier led him to study for the ministry, now found its highest expression

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**Alexander Saxton is described on the jacket of his book as "a young man whose age is belied by his varied experience. Educated at Friends Seminary in New York City and Phillips-Exeter (where he edited the Exeter Review), he attended Harvard University from 1936-39 and in 1940 transferred to the University of Chicago. At various times in his life he has worked as a harvest hand, construction gang laborer, engine-wiper, freight brakeman, architectural apprentice, and assistant to the assistant editor of 'Common Ground.' While he was writing 'Grand Crossing,' he was a switchman on the western division of the New York Central Railroad and a member of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. He also wrote a weekly column on railroad affairs for the 'Daily Worker.' Recently he enlisted for special training in radio in the US Maritime Service Training Station, Hoffman Island, New York."**



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in Marxism. His down-to-earth intelligence is dramatically contrasted with the self-contradictory liberalism and pacifism of Kate Blair, who preaches non-resistance to evil and the free competition of all ideas: "That's not the point as I see it, Mrs. Blair. Point is, whether we're mixed up in this free competition ourselves, or not. You tell that farmer he's just an impartial referee between the weeds and his corn; he'll tell you: No, sir, Mrs. Blair, this isn't a fight between the weeds and my corn, it's a fight between the weeds and *me*. And we're just like the farmer. We're not umpires in any baseball game; we're fighting for our skins. We got to prove we're tougher than the Ku Kluxers and the anti-Semites and the Red-hunters and the fascists and everybody else that lives on the backs of other people. There's only one way I know to prove we're tougher, and that's to act tougher. We can't fool around tolerating fellows like that. Are they wrong or not? Of course they're wrong. If you tolerate what's bad, that means you accept what's bad yourself."

More robust and dramatic, Ben Baum also strengthens Michael's understanding of himself and of social issues, as do several of the lesser characters, like the earthy Rosita, the motherly Mrs. Baum, and Johnny Morelos, the Mexican kid, whose portrait reminds one of Bigger Thomas. The insecurity and injustice that threaten democratic values cannot be ignored after one has met these people. They press for an answer. "Which side are you on?" And there is no honest answer but revolt against social stagnation, taking sides with the plain people, working as one of them.

Michael's relation with Aileen, who has had to make much the same choice, is treated with great sensitivity. Yet it is true that Aileen remains too vague as a character; we do not have enough to explain her; she is seen too insistently through Michael's eyes and does not have a clearly definable existence of her own, even though we must assume that her own problems of change are as real as Michael's. Somewhat the same criticism may be made of the treatment of Ben Baum, whose importance as an influence on Michael is so great that he merited more careful analysis. His presence is constantly felt; but I am not sure that we can definitely state his convictions with the precision that we can those of William Christmas. Saxton's problem evidently was to avoid moving the focus away from Michael's conflict and getting into an elaborate political novel. The choice for this book was wise, but the fact remains that one is conscious of gaps in Michael's political relations both at Harvard and Chicago and of a certain blur in characterization that results.

This is a really exciting novel. Saxton's prose is flexible, imaginative, economical. There is a strong feeling here for the land and the people. It is a novel of ideas as well. The clearheaded confidence and integrity that pervade this story, the democratic faith and the courage to fight, mark the appearance of a challenging talent, one of the youngest, one of the most promising, on the American literary scene.

# "I'D RATHER BE RIGHT"

## *Columnist Samuel Grafton's "American Diary" has wit, style, and strength. Reviewed by Morris U. Schappes.*

AN AMERICAN DIARY, *by Samuel Grafton. Doubleday Doran.* $2.50.

To stimulate the delight and laughter of serious persons preoccupied with the task of self-preservation—winning the war—while dealing with a variety of vital topics bearing upon that war, is a considerable achievement. Samuel Grafton does just this six days a week for a couple of million people who now read in about thirty newspapers the column he originated four years ago in the New York *Post* as "I'd Rather Be Right." If you add the audience for his weekly fifteen-minute broadcast, it is clear that his influence is greater than that wielded by anyone so consistently progressive in his outlook as Grafton.

When you think he *is* right you get the feeling of delight that comes from having your thoughts expressed as you wish you could have expressed them yourself, in a form, that is, that makes the thought itself clearer. Grafton has a wit that makes you joyous at the discomfiture of your enemy. Striving for pungency, he achieves it often enough to make his utterances memorable. While in his daily column the required length of 750 words tends to force him to spread himself too thinly, to seem to be worrying an idea for several inches of type before he finally transfixes it in a crackling summary sentence, this weakness disappears in the carefully selected, pruned, and edited compilation of his columns from July 7, 1939 to May 11, 1943.

Grafton wants to call this a "diary." He seems to wish to escape some of the responsibility of being so influential. The diarist, he says, "can afford to be wrong." Not really "afford" to be, for to be wrong in public is to lead others into error. However, Grafton has wanted to be honest with his readers, and so in his process of selection he has made sure that he has not excluded material that he himself may regard as erroneous or that he must know some of his readers will so consider. But it is certainly a mark of a brave and self-confident mind that he decided to include excerpts written during a period of four years when an independent journalist had the herculean task of trying to keep abreast of a shifting tide of events that taxed the scientific training of even the most experienced social scientists. If he proves himself in this record often to have been neither sufficiently profound nor nimble to evaluate adequately some of the sudden leaps and turns that history has made in the past years, it is encouraging to note that when the road is clearer he steers down it with celerity, grace and tenacity.

Style is Grafton's strength. He is not the type of columnist who has "sources" and "pipelines" and "contacts." Officials and public men spread no rumors and lift no trial balloons through his columns. His interpretation is generally of those facts that have already appeared in print. It is by arrangement and interpretation and form of expression that he exerts his effect. Tending to epigram, he seeks to funnel his thought into a crisp terseness. Sometimes, of course, terseness escapes the bounds of wisdom. Contrast, for instance, the incisiveness of this sentence: "The untrained mind notes exceptions; the trained mind discovers rules"—with the pompous emptiness of this: "History is a record of determined littleness at big moments." Yet both appear on the same page. Neither tells the whole truth about its subject; but the first tells an important part of an important truth, while the second is as illuminating as a roadside reflector when you have swept past it. But at his best he can glow: "Only men who are on fire themselves can scorch the earth." And he can mock: when the Free French took over those Islands and the State Department growled, he wrote: "The St. Pierre-Miquelon fishermen did not mean to be fresh. They would take off their hats to Sumner Welles or Secretary Hull any day. . . ." And he can send a man sprawling: "Some men are worried that Russia might not stop at her own borders. Some are worried that she might stop there, giving us back the war. It has remained for Senator Wheeler to worry about both possibilities simultaneously." And he can exaggerate with the startling effectiveness of the cartoonist: "We are caught with a State Department at a time when there are no states in Europe. It is a strictly unofficial world which we are constructing; the new democratic Europe is going to be entirely illegal. . . . We need, therefore, a No-State Department to set up diplomatic relations with stateless humanity." And he can make the obvious fresh by putting it freshly: the effect of Stalingrad on the theory of demo-



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lition by air power he records thus: "Making rubble is not the same as making victory."

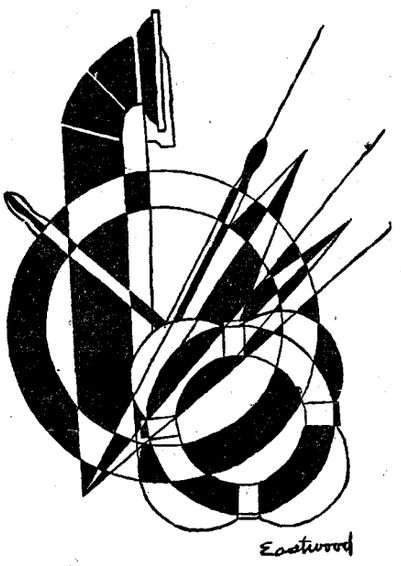
Would that others who think as clearly, or even more clearly, could learn to say their say so well!

But there are some problems raised by the book that needs discussing. First, as to an ideological matter—it seems to me that Grafton does not have an essentially sound estimate of the nature of this war. He takes it to be "a worldwide civil war," rather than a worldwide war of *national* liberation. He will criticize Princeton Prof. Harley L. Lutz' call of last December to a "desperate civil war" against the Roosevelt administration, without realizing himself apparently that you cannot yourself proclaim a worldwide civil war without fighting it. One consequence of Grafton's theory is his wrong estimate of the French National Committee of Liberation. He is all for de Gaulle and the French underground resistance movement. Good. But, failing to understand the breadth of the *national* French movement, he thinks he has to choose between de Gaulle and Giraud. So he is all against Giraud, and that's bad, for he thereby parts company with the French underground, which is for unity of Giraud and de Gaulle and the Communists and anyone else of proven loyalty to France.

Another consequence was seen in his now famous broadcast on the day Mussolini resigned. The significant thing about that speech was not the detail that he called Victor Emmanuel a "moronic little King," but the fact that he regarded the resignation of Mussolini as of *no* significance at all. Nothing had changed, he said. In reacting to those who exaggerated the resignation to mean the end of fascism in Italy, he went to the other extreme of failing even to see it as the beginning of the end. He was seeing it too simply as either the end or not the end, rather than as a process that meant very much to the Italian people themselves. No Italian felt the resignation had no significance; yet Grafton was so "concerned" with the welfare of the Italian people that he overlooked them completely. Furthermore, he was characteristically against Badoglio from the first day; while the Italian people, having a practical problem of forcing an unconditional surrender to the Allies, began by demanding that Badoglio lead them in surrender, and changed their demand to the ouster of Badoglio only when they saw he was refusing to do so. In other words, the Italian five-party combination saw this as a *national* war primarily and not as a civil war of class against class.

Second, I think it is worth noting that Grafton is needlessly narrowing the scope of his commentary. There is practically no discussion of the role and functioning of the labor movement in his columns. Here is Pegler, who reaches an audience about four times as large as Grafton's newspaper following, concentrating on a continual attack on organized labor, infecting with his venom and slander millions of lower middle class and even working people. Surely Grafton could, in the interests of the war and of the "little fellow" he consciously speaks to, turn his attention to presenting the true picture of the trade union movement's achievements in production, in education, in politics, in the war as a whole. Of course it may be that Grafton feels constrained to ignore that subject because the labor editor of the *Post* is Victor Riesel, who formerly edited the Social Democratic *New Leader* and now peddles the same views to a wider audience. It is hardly conceivable that Grafton would be agreeing with Riesel.

Another area of omission in Grafton's field of vision is that of the struggle for civil liberties in relation to the war. Heywood Broun, with whose name some reviewers have coupled Grafton's, used to be outstanding in that respect. He not only saw persons in terms of issues, but also issues in terms of persons. Mooney, Sacco and Vanzetti, and others were often on his tongue. But Grafton steers clear. The St. Louis *Post Dispatch* and the New York *Herald Tribune* may attack the Oklahoma book trials as unfair, and be ultimately sustained by the State's highest courts, but Grafton will not mention them. Bridges can be attacked, but there is no Grafton to lift a protest. The Supreme Court decided the Schneiderman case and Willkie espoused it as a people's cause, but Grafton was silent. The Negro Odell Waller was executed despite a national campaign of protest, and the Negro William Wellman was pardoned by a Governor after similar protest, but no sign of interest from Grafton. Surely it was as "dangerous" for Broun to defend anarchists and labor leaders as it might be for Grafton to lift his



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voice in behalf of a Waller or Bridges. Can it be that Grafton so much fears being Red-baited that he does not comprehend that there are some issues that are worth even that risk?

But Grafton has one campaign to his credit that elevates him in statesmanship and vision head and shoulders above every other general columnist or radio commentator, and that is his consistent work for the second front. He first raised the question on *October 15, 1941*: "What could England and the United States do to create a diversion in the west, a 'second front'?" Remember the date, recall how very few were thinking in those fundamental terms at that time, and you have the measure of his foresight. There is no more telling writing in the book than that which he devotes periodically to this central military-political problem of the war. On March 31, 1942: "A policy of taking the offensive in 1943 is a policy of taking the defensive in 1942. Let us call things what they are. A promise to act next year is, equally, a promise not to act this year." Then came the June 11 "agreement" and its disagreeable aftermath. On September 9, 1942, Grafton wrote: "But now there is trouble: the war is not going well; we have needed a second complete accord with Russia on the question of the Western Front, and, recently, a third complete accord. The score stands at three complete accords and no Western Front." In October 1943 the score is even worse. But if Grafton's valiant work, and that of others too, has so far failed to lead our government to the Western Front, perhaps the conclusion can be drawn for all of us that it is not enough to make a reader think, as Grafton does, without telling him what he can do about the problem. Grafton marshals minds without organizing men.

Undoubtedly this is a book not so much to quarrel with as to read and so very much to enjoy. To his column one can only wish more power, more comprehension, more scope, and more influence.

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES.

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# CONSTANTINE SIMONOV WRITES . . .

***The author of "The Russian People," in a letter to H. W. L. Dana, tells of the military and literary life of a Soviet soldier, poet, and playwright.***

*Among the younger writers who have come into prominence since the German invasion of Russia, there is none more remarkable than Constantine Simonov. He is at the same time a poet, war correspondent, playwright, and soldier. One of his poems, "Wait for Me," has been printed in a million copies and set to music by at least eighteen different composers. His play, "The Russian People," has been acted in a hundred different theaters in the Soviet Union, including the Moscow Art Theater. In an English translation it was presented in America by the Theater Guild, opening with a gala performance in Washington at which the Soviet ambassador and the American secretaries of war and navy were present. Professor H. W. L. Dana, who has written a number of articles on Simonov, sent him a letter describing this first American performance and has just received the following letter in reply.—The Editors.*

DEAR MR. DANA: Upon my return from a long military mission, I found your letter at home. I heartily thank you for it.

I am very happy that my play *The Russian People* was successfully acted in Washington. I know that it has many imperfections, but it is very dear to my heart. I wrote it in the intervals between trips to the front, in the cold December and January days of 1941-42.

From the first days of the war I became a military person and worked at the front as a correspondent of our military newspaper *Red Star*. Naturally, I wrote many sketches and news dispatches, but a half a year after the beginning of the war I seriously took up my pen at the precise time when I began writing *The Russian People*. This play was written very quickly (in less than two months), during which time I interrupted my work twice to go to the front. This was my first response to the war. I wanted to write the play as quickly as possible, because I felt that people who do not see war want to know as soon as possible what it is really like. I was full of impressions and involuntarily put into this play all that I knew and remembered. I was eager in this respect, and perhaps for this reason, the play came out not so smoothly as I should have liked; nevertheless, it still seems to me to have vivid pictures of war and of people like those I saw and loved in real life.

Perhaps you would be interested to know that Valya Anoshchenko [depicted in the play] is now alive and well, and that on account of the part she played in the fighting in the Crimea she received the highest award for personal courage, the Order of the Red Banner. The man whom I portrayed under the name of Safonov is also alive and well. He is now on the Northern Frontier in Karelia, and recently I received a letter from him. My friend the journalist, whom I portrayed in the play under the name of Panin, I have not seen for a long time. The last time I met him was at the Stalingrad ferry, when I was returning from Stalingrad and he was going there. We saw each other for only five minutes, but during that time I managed to tell him that I had put him in a play and had mentioned there how in the first months of the war he had actually packed in his revolver case, instead of a revolver, some eau de cologne and toothpaste. We remembered this and laughed.

As for Kharitonov, the creature from whom I took that character is—as in the play—no longer alive. True, he died in a manner different from that in the play, but in life he was just as much a scoundrel as I have depicted him. I know that well, because when we seized this scoundrel I was the first to question him. Do not be surprised at this: in our country if a war correspondent is a lieutenant colonel, as I am, all kinds of unexpected things happen.

I AM writing all this to you so that you yourself may understand why, in spite of all its faults, this play is dear to my heart.

It is a piece of my own life and my own remembrances which will not disappear from my memory even when this play will long have ceased being acted on the stage.

Incidentally, certain scenic situations, which on the stage may seem invented by the author for the sake of greater sharpness and tension of action, are also actually taken from real life. In the play there is no water supply in the beseiged city, and water is rationed. So it was in real life, only not in the small southern town which I portrayed, but in Odessa, besieged by Germans and Rumanians in the fall of 1941. Just now, as I am writing you this letter, Captain Khalip, my comrade, has entered, with whom I saw people standing in line waiting for their portion of water. Hearing the word "Odessa," which I was dictating to my stenographer, he could not refrain from reminiscing; I did not interrupt him, and thus I am continuing this letter after an hour's interval.

Enough of the play and enough of reminiscences. The fact that you wrote me a letter is proof of your regard and interest in my work. For that reason I should like to say to you and your students, if you wish to read them this letter, a few words not of the past, but of the future. There is now a temporary lull at the front. I took advantage of this to put in order my affairs, my diaries, everything accumulated in these two years. Besides that, I am finishing dictating my novel about Stalingrad, which I conceived a long time ago, last autumn when I was there in Stalingrad itself, but which only now I am able to put into shape. The novel is almost finished. It terrifies me by its length and by the speed with which I wrote it. As is always the case in such instances, the main difficulty will be not when I lengthen it, but when I shall have to shorten it. I do not know whether I shall be able to finish it; for if serious events develop at the front, then through the call of duty, or through my personal desire, or through habit, I shall probably immediately go to the front.

Then my plans for the future will be centered, above all, in continuing my work as a war correspondent, work often difficult but always gratifying, and especially so if one is to think of the future. After the war the author who has lived at the front, if he manages to remain alive, can feel rich



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for the rest of his life. My father, who was wounded six times in the last war, but still remained alive and well, always told me that in order not to get killed one thing only is necessary: once and for all to throw away all thoughts of being killed. As a dutiful son, I follow his advice and assume that in my case, as in his, everything will be all right.

I THANK you for translating my verses "Wait for Me." In connection with this I should like to tell you that the play which I have written on the same theme, and with the same title, is being put on in many cities of my country in twenty or thirty theaters at the same time, and a movie based on this play will be finished in a cinema studio in about a month.

During the trips to the front in the fall, if I find time, I should like to work on the theme of the defense of Moscow in the autumn of 1941, which is especially dear to my heart because I am a confirmed Moscovite, and like a good patriot, I consider it the best city in the world.

I shall be very happy if you will send me copies of your articles and if our correspondence, begun so successfully, is not interrupted. I am happy at the opportunity to greet through you your American audiences and to tell them that I, like all my friends, the Russian writers, do all in my power for victory over the Germans. This seems to me the simplest, and clearest, and truest proof of the strong, fighting friendship between our peoples.

I hope that some day we shall meet in America or in Europe. Captain Khalip, who, besides being a captain is also an artist, is still with me and he says that he would be happy to photograph that meeting. Who knows—perhaps it will be so.

I hope that this letter, notwithstanding the difficulties of wartime, will go faster than yours did.

I clasp your hand.

Yours,

CONSTANTINE SIMONOV.

Moscow

## "Land of Fame"

THE *New Yorker* theater critic has justly characterized the current season as one of "triumphant balderdash," and the bedroom farceurs, gag men, coloraturas, professional funny men, and all the others responsible are still in full control of the situation. By their warbles, leers, burps, and off-color japeries they have induced a solid state of coma in the dramatic arts. There have been one or two feeble efforts to make of the stage something more than a platform for delivery-room jokes, and it is sad to admit, that *Land of Fame*, a play about Greek guerrillas, by Albert and Mary Bein, while more successful, falls short of its intentions.

The play's ingredients, as well as the authors' sharp political understanding, should have made for resounding theater, and there are moments that reveal the full dramatic potentialities of the theme. But in the main, the talk and action remain uninspired and unconvincing. I think the reasons lie in the fact that the play tries to encompass too many forms and succeeds in capturing none of them. The authors cast their characters in the heroic mold, through historic though stilted examples of Greek glory. As such they are committed to behave as symbols, their speech reflecting the dramatic struggle between the forces of fascism and democracy. The characters are all given, not backgrounds, but names such as wagonmaker, shepherd, tinsmith, schoolmaster, etc., all in the tradition of the morality play. Had this kind of treatment been consistent, *Land of Fame* might have achieved a certain cogency and effectiveness.

BUT the Beins also chose to introduce realism, and judged by the criteria of the realistic theater, the dialogue becomes wooden and talky. Lacking roots and backgrounds, except for the speeches put into their mouths, there is no basis for the characters' behavior, no justification for their respective personal choices. The expert use of the realistic technique demands first of all the full exploration of character, and the pattern of action that flows from it. The play's greatest weakness, perhaps, results from this major defect: that action does not come from living people caught in a tragic circumstance, but from a superimposed plot. Thus, in order to satisfy the requirements of plot, a highly successful guerrilla leader who has the Nazi garrison on the edge of the jitters suddenly surrenders to that garrison, an action that is incredible to all except a supervisor of B films.

There are, as I have said, stirring moments in the play, and in general it is superior to "The Moon Is Down" (the play), with which it invites comparison. But a successful scene here and there, and the faint praise of comparison does not make for a sound play. *The* play on underground resistance is yet to be written (not counting *Watch on the Rhine*) and the opportunities for a sensitive and understanding writer are unlimited. I believe the Beins owe it to themselves and to us, the supporters of anti-fascism, to try again.

JOSEPH FOSTER.

## Sickly New Life

ELMER RICE told one of the theater critics that he set out to write a good part for Betty Field (Mrs. Elmer Rice) in *A New Life*. He might have done better for the Rice family and the audience at the Royale Theater had he concentrated on writing a good play. It is almost incredible that a man of Rice's experience—this is his twenty-fourth production—should permit a play as flat and immature as *A New Life* to aggravate the illness which currently afflicts Broadway. I went hopefully to the play because Elmer Rice wrote it. I left the play with the nagging thought that only his name could have got it beyond the outside office of a theatrical agent.

It is a formless work that pretends at moments to say important things about the brave new world after the war. The nine scenes in the maternity hospital are helter-skelter and wearisome. Edith Cleghorne has a mechanically squealing baby on the stage in scene four. The father is a captain whom Edith had married two weeks after she met him during a romantic furlough. The baby's paternal grandfather is a wealthy isolationist from out west, and Mr. Rice takes a few good swipes at him and the clan of rabid anti-Rooseveltians whom he represents. Unfortunately, this reactionary is as unconvincing as Gustave Jensen, the merchant seaman who fought in Spain. Cleghorne pere tries to run the life of his daughter-in-law, but in the end Edith and the captain assert themselves. They look toward a free world in which their child can grow up unspoiled by millions and snobbish ideas.

That, I take it, approximates the theme of the play. But Mr. Rice is so busy writing a good part, displaying his knowledge of maternity hospitals, and hopping between thinnish farce and ultimate philosophies of human existence that the theme and the audience are both depressingly swamped. The sets by Howard Bay are attractive, and Betty Field is sympathetic as the young mother, but there is little else one can conscionably eke out in praise of the production, which Mr. Rice himself staged. In future estimates of the author of *The Adding Machine*, *Counsellor-at-Law*, and *Street Scene*, *A New Life* should thoughtfully be relegated to a footnote. It is a personal indulgence, not a play.

SAMUEL SILLEN.

# Theater Meeting

### Michoels and Feffer farewell to an "army of actors."

ONLY the first 1,400 people who got to the theater's farewell reception last Friday night, in honor of the two Soviet artists, Prof. Solomon Michoels and Lt. Col. Itzik Feffer, were able to crowd into the Royale Theater. When the doors were closed, because of the fire laws, some twenty minutes after they had been opened, several hundred actors and other theater workers had to be turned away. Earlier in the week, a similar reception to which only writers were invited, also "played to standees."



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The interest and enthusiasm aroused by these two "cultural ambassadors" from the Soviet Union is only partly explained by the fact that Lieutenant Colonel Feffer is one of the most distinguished of Soviet poets, known and honored by readers of Yiddish the world over, and that Professor Michoels, director and star of the Moscow State Jewish Theater, is also internationally famed as one of the greatest Shakespearian actors of the day.

These audiences know that Soviet artists are "at the front" both as soldiers and as artists. They came with questions on how the Russians' experience can be translated into terms of the problem American artists face in their struggle to find the place in our common war effort where they can render the most effective service. They also came because they want, as Maxwell Anderson put it, to "build a highway of the mind" between our two countries.

In his speech of greeting Friday night, the American playwright underlined the need and our deep desire for friendship with the Soviet Union. He pointed out that "we get on very well with England despite the fact that most Americans dislike monarchy." There is no reason, he feels, why we should not get on equally well with the Russian people, whether or not the majority of Americans approve of socialism. What is needed, he said, is understanding. For that reason we welcome "an ambassador from the Russian theater. If we understand the Russian theater, we shall go a long way toward understanding Russia."

Major Raymond Massey, chairman of Friday night's reception, characterized the great advances that have already been made in American-Soviet friendship as the "silver lining" in the dark picture of a world at war. Paying tribute to the tremendous victories of the Red Army, he told of a conversation he had recently with Leland Stowe, noted war correspondent. "By all the laws of logistics," Stowe told him, "the current Russian offensive should have stopped, at least for a breathing spell, over three weeks ago." We are, Massey said, proud to be the allies of a people whose character is stronger than the laws of military science.

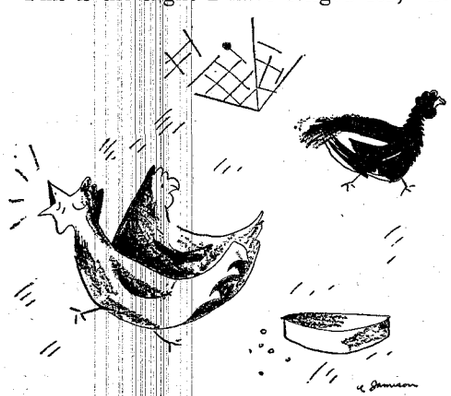
Professor Michoels spoke in Russian, translated by Capt. Sergei Kournakoff. "This is the night I have longed for," he began, "with you soldiers of the army of actors. You, who listen to the people! You, who feel the pulse of life itself." He described the place of the actor in the society of the Soviet Union, contrasting it with the age-old and often hopeless struggle of this type of artist in a system which too often relegated him to the position of the one worker in the theater who had "no brain of his own." The truth is, Professor Michoels said, the actor is "far more than a performer of other people's work. He is a thinker, a poet, a creator, a fighter for a glorious new life!

"We are the eyes and ears of the people. Our task while people are fighting is to tell them the truth about the future. That is my message from the Soviet theater to the magnificent actors of America. Long live the great art of the theater!"

Lieutenant Colonel Feffer spoke in Yiddish, translated by John Garfield. He referred to himself and other poets as "allies of the actor." Most of his talk was devoted to an account of how Professor Michoels had worked to carry his message to the people on the firing lines of the Eastern Front and to a eulogy of his work in the Moscow State Jewish Theater, particularly his world-famous portrayal of King Lear.

Telegrams of greeting were read from Paul Robeson, Lily Pons, and Andre Kostalanetz.

J. S.



## Hollywood Congress

*Los Angeles.*

THE biggest news here right now, bar none, is the Writers Congress, that will be going full blast during October 1-4. Organized under the auspices of the University of California in Los Angeles and the Hollywood Writers Mobilization, it has attracted a tremendous broad representation of workers in the cultural field, and the excitement here is enormous.

The University of California is lending its Royce Hall and leading educators on its staff. Pres. Robert G. Sproul of the University will open the public session on October 1 and read a message of greeting from President Roosevelt. Participating in the mobilization, of which Robert Rossen (author of the film *The Edge of Darkness*) is chairman, are the following organizations of Hollywood writers: the Screen Writers Guild, Radio Writers Guild, Screen Publicists, Screen Readers, Screen Cartoonists, American Newspaper Guild, Independent Publicists' and Song Writers' Protective Association. At the public meeting the production end of the motion picture industry will be represented by men like Jack Warner, Walter Wanger, Col. Darryl Zanuck, Y. Frank Freeman, Charles Einfeld and Mark Sandrich. Lt. Col. Evan Carlson of the US Marine Corps (leader of Carlson's Raiders and author of *Twin Stars of China*) will address the opening session, together with Walter White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Walter Huston( master of ceremonies), Marc Connelly and Ralph Freud, co-chairmen of the Congress, and representatives of the United Nations and of our own armed forces. The Congress embraces writers and educators of practically every variety of political opinion, all united for the purpose of prosecuting the war and lending the concrete assistance of their many crafts and techniques.

On the Congress committee and the advisory board, we find people like Prof. Franklin Fearing of UCLA, screenwriters John Howard Lawson, Sheridan Gibney, and Howard Koch (*Mission to Moscow*), radio writer Arch Oboler and executive producer Sidney Buchman (Columbia Pictures), John B. Hughes (radio commentator), Joris Ivens (creator of *The Spanish Earth* and many other distinguished documentaries), Stephen Longstreet (novelist), Kenneth MacGowan (producer); Mary McCall, Jr., president of the Screen Writers Guild, Dudley Nichols, Carl Sandburg, and Rex Stout (chairman of the Writers War Board).

The government is interested in this congress, interested in applying the many specialized skills of its participants to the better prosecution of the war. Representatives of OWI will be present, as well as accredited delegates of the Army, Navy, and the Marine Corps. Most of these men will participate in the panel discussions and seminars taking place on October 2 and 3. The panels will include discussions of minority groups (John Collier, Carey McWilliams, Dalton Trumbo, and Walter White); "The Nature of the Enemy," under the chairmanship of John Wexley (*The Last Mile, Hangmen Also Die, The City That Stopped Hitler*) with Col. Carlos Romulo of the Philippine Army, Lion Feuchtwanger, Dudley Nichols, and Mikhail Kalatozov (Soviet film representative in America) speaking; "The American Scene," Robert Rossen, chairman). Dislocations on the home front will be analyzed; the strains to which the family is subjected in this period will be examined, with stress laid on the social and economic conditions that affect it, and the psychological factors operative in creative writing about the home front. There is a long list of speakers including Professor Fearing of the University, Howard Estabrook (screen writer) and Milton Merlin; "Propaganda Analysis," propaganda techniques in relation to the American scene . . . the writer's influence in strengthening the home front. John B. Hughes is the chairman, with Lyman Bryson, Frances Wilder, Gordon Kahn, and others participating.

There will be a panel on "Latin American Affairs," under the chairmanship of Prof. Ralph Beals. A panel on "Problems of the Peace" will find Phyllis Bentley of Great Britain, Vladimir Pozner (*Edge of*



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That's one of the Six Basic Methods which NM has worked out for its readers to make subscription-getting easier. On page 2 of this issue we talk about the six basic methods of magazines in general. And we decided that only one of them was really worthwhile for NM. But that one has six variations, which we will present to you from time to time, with illustrations by Soriano. If the one this week seems rather flippant (and we're not trying to pun), it is only because you haven't tried it. It works. And, seriously, what we are trying to say is: please don't wait, don't "think it over" or "line up prospects" before tackling this job. You'll find that it isn't a big job for you, but it's a big project for us. Our goal is: 5,000 new subscribers by Jan. 1, 1944. It's urgent for the magazine, for its effectiveness as a fighting periodical, to reach that goal. You—and only you—can make it possible.

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*the Sword*) of France, Yu-Shan Han (of China), Robert Riskin, and others speaking.

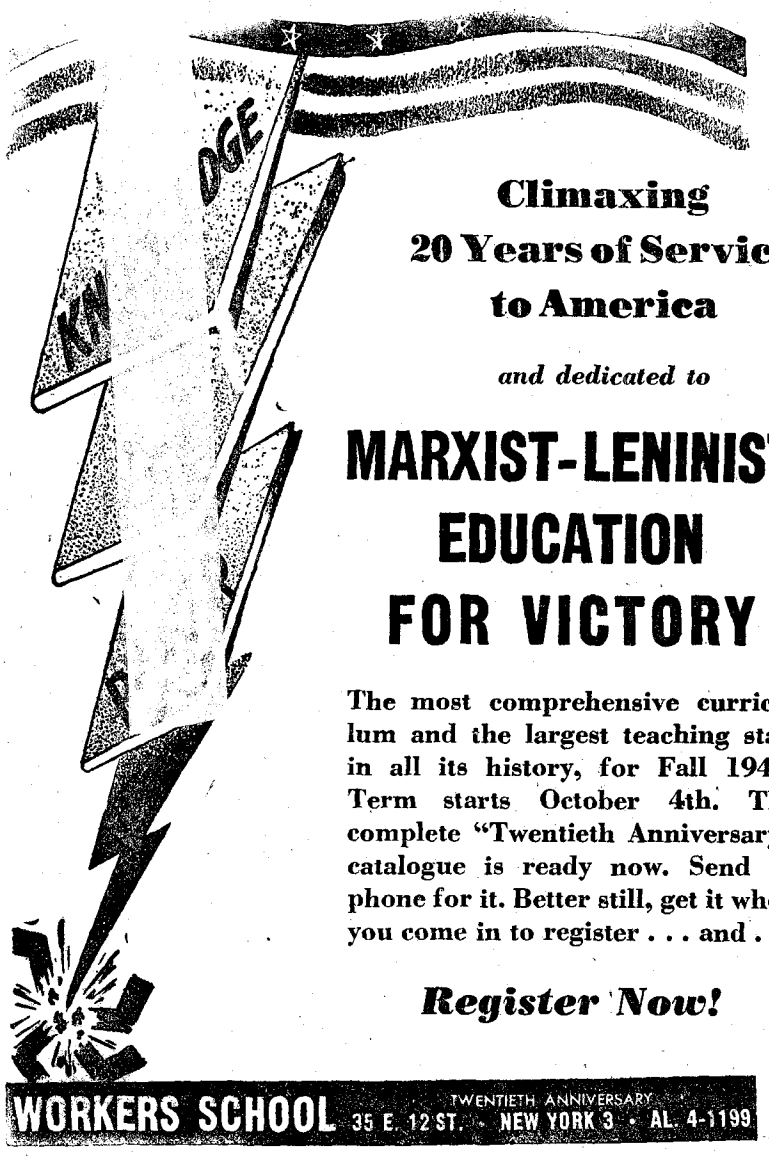
The fifteen seminars are too many to elaborate on, but they will involve two on the "Creative Film" (Dore Schary, Sidney Buchman, Col. Darryl Zanuck, Talbot Jennings), "Creative Radio" (Norman Corwin, Ranald Macdougall, Bernard Schoenfeld, and Arch Oboler), "The Role of the Press" (two sessions), "Song Writing in War" (Oscar Hammerstein, Earl Robinson, Arthur Schwartz and E. Y. Harburg), "Radio Television," "Humor and the War," "Indoctrination and Training Films" (Lt. Col. Evans Carlson, Mikhail Kalatozov, a representative of the British Ministry of Information, and others from the American armed forces); "Writers in Exile" (Thomas Mann, Alexis Minotis, Lion Feuchtwanger, Capt. Paul Perigord and others); "Short Wave Radio," "Documentary Film" (Leo Hurwitz, chairman, with James Wong Howe, Joris Ivens, Kenneth Macgowan, Sgt. Ben Maddow); "Music in Relation to the Writer and the War," the "Animated Cartoon," and last, but scarcely least, "Radio News and Analysis," in which a typical news program will be prepared and broadcast on a national hookup before the audience, with Harry Flannery, John B. Hughes, Fox Case, and others participating.

"Writers," says the prospectus of the Congress, "face tremendous and urgent tasks in relation to the war. The spoken and written word and the image on the screen are of crucial importance in developing civilian and military morale, in bringing the promise of victory to the countries under Axis tyranny, in cementing the unity of the United Nations, in clarifying the conditions for a just and lasting peace."

This paragraph holds the gist of the purpose and direction of this congress of American and United Nations writers. There is no reason why it should not perpetuate itself in the form of national and even international organization, for the duration of the war and in the peace. Its modest aim is: "To formulate a program of action which will unite and mobilize the whole writing profession"—a need that has not yet been achieved although we have been at war for almost two years. Its perspectives are shrewdly appreciated by Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose greeting to the Congress you will read as soon as it is released.

This is the broadest meeting of writers ever to have taken place in America, and its existence is the proof of the growing unity of our people. At no other time in our history could such a congress have taken place. The requirements of victory have brought it into being; the requirements of peace and international progress will perpetuate it.

N. A. DANIELS.

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